THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF CENTRAL GREECE IN THE LATE TWELFTH CENTURY.

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INTRODUCTION.

This study of the economic and social structure of Central Greece is largely based on the writings of Michaèl Chôniatès, who was appointed Metropolitan of Athens in 1182. For twenty three years he lived in one of the oldest cities in the region. From his residence on the Akropolis he observed provincial society, recording many aspects of twelfth century life which are little known from other sources. As Metropolitan he was sometimes forced to travel in the diocese of Ellas; for example, to visit an unruly bishop in Euboia; and he appears to have known the area from first-hand experience. He corresponded intensively with other prelates, monastic leaders and civilian officials throughout Greece, as well as reporting on the situation at length to his friends in Constantinople and elsewhere. In addition, he composed Homilies, Orations, 'Katèchèseis', Memoranda and official addresses of welcome.

Michaèl's career was fairly typical of a twelfth century ecclesiastic. Very little is known about his parents and his childhood in Chônai, except that Metropolitan Nikètas, who was godfather to his younger brother, had some influence with the family.[1] Both sons were sent to Constantinople, perhaps with the Metropolitan's encouragement, where they were given a thorough education. While Michaèl entered the Patriarchal Chancellery, Nikètas became an imperial secretary. In both cases, this rigorous training was probably more formative than any family influence.[2]

1. On the Chôniatès family, see J. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates. Erlauterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie, Berlin/New York 1971, 8-17. Cf. G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, second edition, Berlin 1958, I, 444-50; H-G. Beck, Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich, Munich 1959, 637-8; 663-4.
2. Van Dieten, op. cit. 21-2. Michaèl's Monody for his brother is the basic source of information, see M. Ch. I, 345-66.

Despite the intellectual pleasures of the capital, Michaèl Chôniatês came to terms with his appointment to Athens more enthusiastically than many ecclesiastics educated in Constantinople and sent into the provinces. Partly because he took a genuine delight in classical learning, devoting himself to reading, copying and teaching Greek authors, and also because he appreciated Athens, the centre of ancient Greek civilisation. Despite a marked contrast between the Athens of Periklès and Dèmosthenès and the twelfth century city, Michaèl felt at home in familiar surroundings. Unlike many Metropolitans, he probably visited Constantinople only twice in the course of twenty three years. And after the Frankish occupation of Greece, he remained close to his see, refusing appointments in both Nikaia and Èpeiros.

His writing, like his career, follows established twelfth century patterns. The style is often contorted by literary efforts; atticising phrases and word-endings, and classical expressions are often employed. Rhetorical flourishes occasionally disguise the meaning behind certain complaints about provincial life. Direct quotations from Homer and many classical poets and historians are much more common than biblical citations, yet ancient learning is fully integrated with Orthodox belief. The whole compound is a slightly cultivated language. It is, nonetheless, capable of expressing everyday matters in a direct way.

The evidence provided by Michaèl's writings is obviously restricted by his character and his position in Central Greece. Despite these limitations, it constitutes a significant source for provincial history. This fact has been appreciated for nearly a century, since the first edition was made by Spyridon Lampros in 1879-80.[1] Lampros consulted

1. S. Lampros, Michaèl Akominatou tou Chôniatou ta Sôzomena, 2 vols. Athens 1879-80. Cf. Moravcsik, op. cit. I, 429-30.

the two major manuscripts, the Baroccianus 131 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) and the Laurentianus Phil. LIX cod. XII (Florence), as well as major other twelfth century collections.[1] I have relied on his text, with the corrections and alternative readings suggested by Papageôrgiou and G. Stadtmüller. No attempt has been made to examine the manuscripts.[2]

Since 1880, many studies of Chôniatès have been made and most historians of twelfth century Byzantium refer to these texts as a major source. One of the recent commentators G. Stadtmüller, has provided a systematic dating of Michaèl's letters on the internal evidence, and a new edition of the Ypomnèstikon (Memorandum) to Alexios III.[3] Among American scholars, K. M. Setton and C. M. Brand, have used the correspondence as a basis for a general history of Athens in the Middle Ages[4] and for a well-documented study of Byzantium from 1180 to 1204.[5] I. C. Thallon has examined the classical references in Michaèl's writings and has reconstructed the contents of his famous library.[6] In his book on Peloponnesos, A. Bon looked at the evidence for provincial decline in the twelfth century as portrayed by Michaèl Chôniatès.[7] But none of these authors have made a close study of the particular social and economic

1. See his introduction to the edition, M. Ch. I, νγ'-ξη'.
2. P. N. Papageôrgiou, Epikrisis tès Sp. Lamprou ekdôseôs tou Michaèl Akominatou, Athens 1883. G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates Metropolit von Athen, Rome 1934 = (OC no. 91, vol. 33, 1934).
3. See note 2 above; Ypomnèstikon, op. cit. 283-6.
4. K. M. Setton, Athens in the later Twelfth Century, Spec. XIX 1944, 179-206; ibid. XXI, 1946, 234-6.
5. C. M. Brand, Byzantium confronts the West 1180-1204, Cambridge Mass. 1968.
6. I. C. Thallon, A Medieval Humanist : Michael Akominatos, in Vassar Medieval Studies, New Haven 1923, 275-314.
7. A. Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204, Paris 1951, 118-75.

situation in Central Greece in the period of Michaèl's residence in Athens.

In addition to Michaèl's valuable information, the writings of Euthymios Malakès, Metropolitan of Neai Patrai from c. 1166 to 1204 constitute another source of evidence. Euthymios was much less contented with provincial life; he hankered after the Constantinopolitan atmosphere. His letters are therefore not as full or as informative as Michaèl's, but they should not be overlooked. They have been edited together with works by Euthymios Tornikès, nephew of Malakès and Ioannès Apokaukos, early thirteenth century Metropolitan of Naupaktos. [1] Apokaukos' writings have been studied only in so far as they add evidence about Central Greece. Similarly, Eustathios of Thessalonikè provides comparative material, but this information has been used only when it is relevant to the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos. [2]

Among other written sources which cover the period, the History of Nikètas Chôniatès, Michaèl's younger brother, is of great significance. [3]

1. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Noctes Petropolitanae, S. Petersburg 1913; K. Mponès, Euthymios Malakès Ta Sôzomena, Athens 1937-49, 2 vols. J. Darrouzès, Notes sur Euthyme Tornikes, Euthyme Malakes et Georges Tornikes, REB XXIII, 1965, 148-163; ibid. XXVI, 1968, 76-89. Cf. Moravcsik, op. cit. I, 264, 264-5, 315-6; D. M. Nicol, The Despotate of Epiros, Oxford 1957, Appendix II, 217-21.
2. Eustathios of Thessalonikè, Opuscula, ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt 1832); idem, Orationes, ed. W. Regel in Fontes rerum Byzantinarum, S. Petersburg 1892; idem. De capta Thessalonica, ed. S. Kyriakidès, Palermo 1961. Cf. Moravcsik, op. cit. I, 262-4.
3. Nikètas Chôniatès, Istoria, ed. I. Bekker (CHSB 1835) German Translation by F. Grabler, Kaisertaten und Menschenschicksale, Graz 1966 (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber VII-IX) A new edition by J. van Dieten was announced in 1956 and will hopefully appear soon.

Not that Nikètas mentions his brother or the situation in Central Greece very often, but the History is a chronicle of political events witnessed by the author. As a historian, Nikètas may be biased, but there can be no doubt that he wrote from personal experience. He lived in the capital from 1185-1205 and recorded historical events through the eyes of the Byzantine court. He was not always well informed about the situation in the provinces and does not appear to have written regularly to his brother. It is rather strange that the two should not have exchanged letters, for they were both very fond of each other, and were both prolific writers.

Imperial documents, patriarchal acts and monastic archives are extremely useful sources of material for any study of provincial society. Orations delivered at court, which form a large part of twelfth century Byzantine literary output, are less informative.

Accounts of the Fourth Crusade are similarly varied. Those dealing with the capture of Constantinople are of less use than those which cover the establishment of Frankish kingdoms in Greece, the 'Histoire de l'Empereur Henri'. [1] The basic text on this subject is the Chronicle of Morea, a work written in the first half of the fourteenth century, which survives in Greek, French, Italian and Aragonese versions. [2]

But the most important Western sources for this study are the Italian documents dealing with trade in the Byzantine Empire. In addition to the collections of G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, G. Müller and the Codice diplomatico genovese, the private documents which record contracts

1. Henri de Valenciennes, l'Histoire de l'Empereur Henri in La conquête de Constantinople, ed. N. de Wailly, Paris 1872.
2. See Moravcsik, op. cit. I, 238-40 . The Greek text established by P. Kalonaros (Athens 1940), is used throughout this study.

between individual merchants are most informative.[1] These reveal the development of Italian commercial activity in many little-known economic centres of Central Greece. Unfortunately, there is no equivalent record of Greek mercantile activity.

The unwritten sources for social and economic provincial history are numerous but difficult to use. They have been especially well preserved in Athens, where the medieval agora is one of the few Byzantine urban settlements which has been systematically excavated. Comparative material from Corinth is also readily available.[2] These two sites are a gold-mine for Byzantine historians. The finds fall into several categories, some of which are more helpful to this study than others. Coins, seals and inscriptions are particularly important, because they can usually be closely dated; glass, pottery, metalwork and other minor objects are more difficult to interpret.

1. G. L. F. Tafel, and G. M. Thomas, Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, Vienna 1856-7 (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Abt. II, Bd. 12-14) reprinted Amsterdam 1964; G. Müller, Documenti sulle relazioni della città toscane coll'Oriente Cristiano e coi Turchi, Florence 1879; Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova, Rome 1936-42; A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca, Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII, 2 vols. Turin 1940. idem. Nuovi Documenti del commercio veneto dei secoli XI-XIII, Venice 1953; A. Sayous, Documents inédits des Archives de l'Etat de Venise, Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, XIII, 1934, 681-96.
2. The American School at Athens has published excellent reports on both sites, see the journals Hesperia, American Journal of Archaeology and the publication Corinth. Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Cambridge Mass. 1929 (in progress), especially volumes III Coins, Fortifications; VI Coins; XI Pottery; XII The Minor Objects.

Outside Athens and Corinth the archaeological material is much more difficult to trace, and once found, to identify. Publications of coin finds, collections of seals and single inscriptions are scattered throughout periodicals covering many fields. Even the major retrospective works on these subjects have not included them all. [1] As the field is constantly expanding, archaeological evidence is usually illustrative rather than conclusive. Nonetheless knowledge of certain industries, such as glass-blowing, is derived entirely from archaeological finds. [2] Similarly, the Byzantine buildings which survive from the twelfth century constitute another source of evidence for provincial historians. Few secular buildings remain, but there are many churches and fortifications which date from this period. In addition the foundations of several Frankish castles constructed in the thirteenth century are undoubtedly Byzantine. [3]

For historians to ignore these sources of non-written evidence would greatly impoverish their work. But the archaeological material can not be treated in exactly the same way as historical evidence: I have tried wherever possible to incorporate the work of archaeologists as they have presented it, rather than "fitting" it into my own historical framework.

1. See for example, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV, ed. A. Boeck, Berlin 1877; G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin, Paris 1884; V. Laurent, Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin, Paris 1963- .
2. See for example the additional material from Cyprus which has caused archaeologists to reconsider the Corinth material, A. H. S. Megaw, A Twelfth Century Scent Bottle from Cyprus, Journal of Glass Studies, I, 1959, 59-62; idem. More Gilt and Enamelled Glass from Cyprus, Journal of Glass Studies, X, 1968, 88-104.
3. See A. Bon, Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale, BCH LXI, 1937, 136-208.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Actes de Lavra.	Actes de Lavra, première partie des origines à 1204, (Archives de l'Athos V) ed. P. Lemerle and others, Paris 1970.
Actes de Vatopedi.	Byzantiaka eggraphates en Athô ieras monès tou Batopediou, ed. M. Goudas, EEBS III, 1926, 113-36.
Actes de Xéropotamou.	Actes de Xéropotamou (Archives de l'Athos III) ed. J. Bompaire, Paris 1963.
Ahrweiler, Administration.	H. Ahrweiler, Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin au 9e - 11e siècles, BCH LXXXIV, 1960, 1-110.
Ahrweiler, La Mer.	Byzance et la Mer, Paris 1966.
Alexiade.	Anna Comnène, Alexiade, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols. Paris 1937-45.
Antoniades-Bibicou, Histoire Maritime.	H. Antoniades-Bibicou, Etudes sur l'Histoire Maritime à Byzance, Paris 1966.
Antoniades-Bibicou, Les Douanes.	H. Antoniades-Bibicou, Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance, Paris 1963.
Attaleiates.	Michaèl Attaleiatès, Historia, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 1853.
Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin.	A. Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204, Paris 1951.
Cadastre de Thèbes.	N. Svoronos, Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles. Le cadastre de Thèbes, BCH LXXXIII, 1-145; 805-25.
Chronicle of Galaxeidiou.	Chronikon anekdoton Galaxeidiou, ed. K. N. Sathas, Athens 1865.
Chronicle of Morea.	To Chronikon tou Moreôs, ed. P. Kalonaros, Athens 1940.
Chronique de Monemvasie.	La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie : le contexte historique et légendaire, ed. P. Lemerle, REB XXI, 1963, 5-49.
Codice diplomatico genovese.	Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova, (Fonti per la storia d'Italia no. 77, 79, 89), Rome 1936-42.
CIG.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV, ed. A. Boeck, Berlin 1877.
Corinth.	Corinth. Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Cambridge, Mass. 1929 (in progress).

DAI, I & II. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, ed. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins, 2 vols. Budapest 1949, and London 1962.

Darrouzès, Offikia. J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les Ὀφφίκια de l'Eglise byzantine, Paris 1971.

Darrouzès, Tornikai. J. Darrouzès, Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès. Lettres et Discours, Paris 1970.

De Cer. I & II. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae, 2 vols, ed. J. J. Reiske, CSHB 1829-40.

De Them. Costantino Porfirogenito De Thematibus, ed. A. Pertusi, Vatican 1952.

Dölger, Regest. F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, 5 parts, Munich/Berlin 1924-6.

Edrisi. La Géographie d'Edrisi, ed. A. Jaubert, 2 vols. Paris 1824.

EM Euthymiou tou Malakè Mètropolitou Neôn Patrôn ta sôzomena, ed. K. G. Mponès, 2 vols. Athens 1937-49.

Eparchikon biblion. Le Livre du Préfet, ed. J. Nicole, Geneva 1893/ London 1969.

Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica. Eustathios of Thessalonikè, La Espugnazione di Tessalonica, ed. S. Kyriakidès, Palermo 1961.

Finanzverwaltung. F. Dölger, Beiträge zur byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10 und 11 Jahrhunderts, Leipzig/Berlin 1927; Hildesheim 1960.

Gelzer, Notitiae. H. Gelzer, Ungedruckte und ungenugend veröffentliche Texte der Notitiae episcopatuum, Abhandlungen der philosophische - philologische Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 21, 1901.

Genesios J. Genesius, Regna, ed. C. Lachmann, CSHB 1834.

Georgios monarchos George the Monk, Chronicon, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. Leipzig 1904.

Georgios monarchos continued. Georgius Monarchus continuatus, Chronicle, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 1838.

Grumel, Regestes. V. Grumel, Les Regestes des Actes du Patriacat de Constantinople : I Les Actes des Patriarches, 3 vols. Kadikoi/Paris 1932-47.

Kameniatès. John Cameniates, De excidio Thessalonicensi, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 1838.

Kedrènos, I & II. George Cedrenus, Synopsis historiarum, 2 vols. ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 1838-9.

Kekaumenos. Cecaumeni Strategikon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regiis libellus, ed. V. Vasilievskiy and V. Jernstadt, S. Petersburg 1896.

Kinnamos. John Cinnamus, Historia, ed. A. Meineke, CSHB 1836.

Klèterologion. Philotheos, Klèterologion, ed. J. Bury, The Imperial Administrative system in the Ninth Century, London 1911/New York 1959.

Kyriakidès, Byzantinai Meletai I-VI. S. Kyriakidès, Byzantinai Meletai, I Epistèmonikè Epetèris Thessalonikès, II, 1932, 315-337; II-V ibid. III, 1934-9, 267-560; VI, Oi Slaboi en Peloponnèsou, Thessalonikè 1947.

Laurent, Bulles metriques. V. Laurent, Les Bulles Metriques dans la sigillographie byzantine, Ellenika, IV 1931, 191-228, 321-60; V 1932, 137-174, 389-420; VI 1933, 81-102, 205-30; VII 1934, 63-71, 277-300; VIII 1935, 49-64, 319-43.

Laurent, Orghidan. V. Laurent, Documents de sigillographie byzantine : La collection Orghidan, Paris 1952.

Laurent, Sceaux. V. Laurent, Le Corpus des Sceaux byzantins, V: L'Eglise, I, Paris 1963- .

Lemerle, Esquisse, I, II, III. P. Lemerle, Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance: Les sources et les problèmes, I, RH CCXIX, 1958, 32-74; II, ibid. 254-84; III, ibid. CCXX, 1958, 43-94.

Lemerle, Terre Militaire. P. Lemerle, La terre militaire à l'époque des Comnènes, Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, II, 1959, 265-81.

Leo VI, Taktika. Leonis Imperatoris Tactica, PG 107, cols. 669-1094.

Life of Osios Loukas. O Bios tou Osiou Louka, ed. G. Kremos, Phôkika I, 1874.

Life of Osios Meletios. O Bios tou Osiou Meletiou, ed. V. Vasilievsky, Pravoslavnuiy Palestinskiy Sbornik VI, 1886.

Lombardo and Rocca, Documenti I & II. A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca, Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI - XIII, 2 vols. Turin 1940.

Lombardo and Rocca, Nuovi Documenti.	A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca, Nuovi Documenti del commercio veneto dei secoli XI - XIII, Venice 1953.
Mai.	A. Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, 10 vols. Rome 1825-38.
Mansi.	J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, 31 vols. Florence/Venice 1759-98.
M. Ch. I, II.	Michaèl Akominatou tou Chôniatou ta Sôzomena, ed. S. Lampros, 2 vols. Athens 1879-80.
M. Ch. Katèchèseis.	S. Lampros, Istoria tès poleôs Athènôn, vol. II, Athens 1905.
Mesaionike Bibliotheke.	K. Sathas, Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè - Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi, 7 vols. Venice/Paris 1872-94.
Meyer, Haupturkunden.	P. Meyer, Die Haupturkunden der Geschichte das Athosklöster, Leipzig 1894/Amsterdam 1965.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. G. Pertz and others (Hanover 1826).
Miracula Sancti Demetrii.	Miracula Sancti Demetrii, PG 116, cols. 1203-1397.
MM	F. Miklosich and J. Müller, Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, 6 vols. Vienna 1860-90.
Nikephoros.	Patriarch Nikephoros, Opuscula historica, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1880.
N. Ch.	Nikètas Chôniatès, Historia, ed. I. Bekker CSHB 1835.
Noctes Petropolitanae.	A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Noctes Petropolitanae, S. Petersburg 1913.
Parthey, Notitiae.	G. L. Parthey, Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitiae Graccae episcopatuum, Berlin 1866.
PG	J. Migne, Patrologia cursus completus- series graeco-latina, 161 vols. Paris 1857-66.
Phokika.	G. Kremos, Phôkika, I, Athens 1874.
PL	J. Migne, Patrologia cursus completus- series latina, 221 vols. Paris 1844-55.
Psellos, Chronographia.	The History of Psellus, ed. C. Sathas, London 1899.
Psellos, I, II.	Michaelis Pselli scripta minora, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, 2 vols. Milan 1936-41.
Sayous, Documents inédits.	A. Sayous, Documents inédits des Archives de l'Etat de Venise, Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, XIII, 1934, 681-96.

Skylitzès.	J. Scylitzes, Historia, see Kedrènos II, 641-744.
Sigillographie.	G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin, Paris 1884.
Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates.	G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates Metropolit von Athen, (ca. 1138-ca. 1222) OC no. 91, XXXIII, 1934, 125-325.
Steuergemeinde.	G. Ostrogorsky, Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im 10 Jahrhundert, Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XX, 1928, 1-108.
Synekdemos.	E. Honigman, Le Synekdemus d'Hiérokles et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre, Brussels 1939.
Theophanès.	Theophanès, Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. Leipzig 1883-5.
Theophanès continued.	Theophanès Continuatus, Chronographia, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 1838.
TT	Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. Vienna 1856-7/Amsterdam 1964.
Villehardouin.	Geoffroi de Villehardouin, Conquête de Constantinople, ed. N. de Wailly, Paris 1872.
Zakythinos, Byzantinai Meletai. I-V.	Meletai peri tès dioikètikès diaireseôs kai tès eparchiakès dioikèseôs en tô Byzantinô kratei, I, EEBS XVIII, 1941, 208-74; II, ibid. XIX, 1948, 42-64; III, ibid. XX, 1949, 3-25; IV, ibid. XXI, 1957, 179-209; V, ibid. XXII, 1952, 159-182.
Zepos, Jus GR	J. and P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum, 8 vols Athens 1931.
Zonaras.	John Zonaras, Epitome Historiarum, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, CSHB 1841-97.

Periodicals.

AHR	American Historical Review, (New York-London 1895-).
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, (New York-Cambridge, Mass. 1885-).
B	Byzantion, (Brussels 1924-).
BB	Byzantino Bulgarica, (Sofia 1962-).
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, (Athens-Paris).
BM	Byzantina-Metabyzantina, (New York, 1946-9).
BNJ	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher, (Athens-Berlin 1920-).
BS	Byzantinoslavica, (Prague 1929-).
BSA	Annual of the British School of Archaeology, (London 1895-).
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Leipzig 1892-).
CEH	Cambridge Economic History of Europe, (Cambridge 1941-52;2nd ed. 1966-).
CMH	Cambridge Medieval History, (Cambridge 1913-)
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, (Bonn 1828-97).
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Cambridge, Mass. 1941 -).
EB	Etudes Byzantines, (Bucarest 1943-5) continued as REB.
EEBS	Epetèris Etairias Byzantinôn Spoudôn, (Athens 1924-).
EHR	English Historical Review, (London 1886-).
EO	Echos d'Orient, (Constantinople-Paris 1897-1942.) continued as Etudes Byzantines.
GRB Studies	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, (Cambridge, Mass.).
HC	L'Hellénisme contemporain, (Athens 1935-).
Hesperia	Hesperia, (Cambridge, Mass. 1932-).
IRAIK	Izvestiya Russkago Archeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopol, (Odessa 1896-).
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies, (London 1880-).
JIAN	Journal Internationale d'Archéologie Numismatique, (Athens 1898-).

JOBG	Jahrbuch des Osterreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft, (Vienna 1951-).
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, (London 1911-).
NE	Neos Ellènomnèmôn, (Athens 1904-27).
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica, (Rome 1923-).
RA	Revue Archéologique, (Paris 1884-).
REB	Revue des Etudes byzantines, (Paris-Bucarest 1946-).
REG	Revue des Etudes grecques, (Paris 1888-).
RH	Revue historique, (Paris 1876-).
RHSE	Revue historique du Sud-Est européen, (Bucarest 1924-).
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien, (Paris 1896-).
ROL	Revue de l'Orient latin, (Paris 1893-).
RSI	Rivista storica italiana, (Turin 1884-).
SBN	Studi bizantini e neoellenici, (Rome 1924-).
Spec.	Speculum. (Cambridge, Mass. 1925-).
TM	Travaux et Mémoires, (Paris 1965-).
Traditio	Traditio, (New York 1943-).
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, (London 1869-).
VV	Vizantiyskiy Vremennik, old series I-XXV, (S. Petersburg 1894-1928); new series I (XXVI)- . (Leningrad 1947-).
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta, (Belgrad 1958-).

A note on the transliteration of the Greek alphabet.

Common Christian names and well-known place names are given in their most generally accepted form - for example, Emperors Constantine VII, Isaac I, John II ; Corinth, Thebes, Athens (rather than Korinthos, Thebai, Athenai). But all other Greek words, including names and place names, have been transliterated according to the British Museum Catalogue system (with slight alterations). Rough and smooth breathings have been ignored.

Α	α	a	Ν	ν	n
Β	β	b	Ξ	ξ	x
Γ	γ	g	Ο	ο	o
Δ	δ	d	Π	π	p
Ε	ε	e	Ρ	ρ	r
Ζ	ζ	z	Σ	σ, ς	s
Η	η	è	Τ	τ	t
Θ	ϑ	th	Υ	υ	y, except in diphthongs, au, eu, ou.
Ι	ι	i	Φ	φ	ph
Κ	κ	k	Χ	χ	ch
Λ	λ	l	Ψ	ψ	ps
Μ	μ	m	Ω	ω	ô

For the transliteration of Russian the British Museum Catalogue system has been adopted. I would like to thank all those who have helped me by translating passages from Russian :- P. Anderson, E. E. Mackie, M. Pushkin and R. E. F. Smith.

CHAPTER ONE.

The Topography of Central Greece

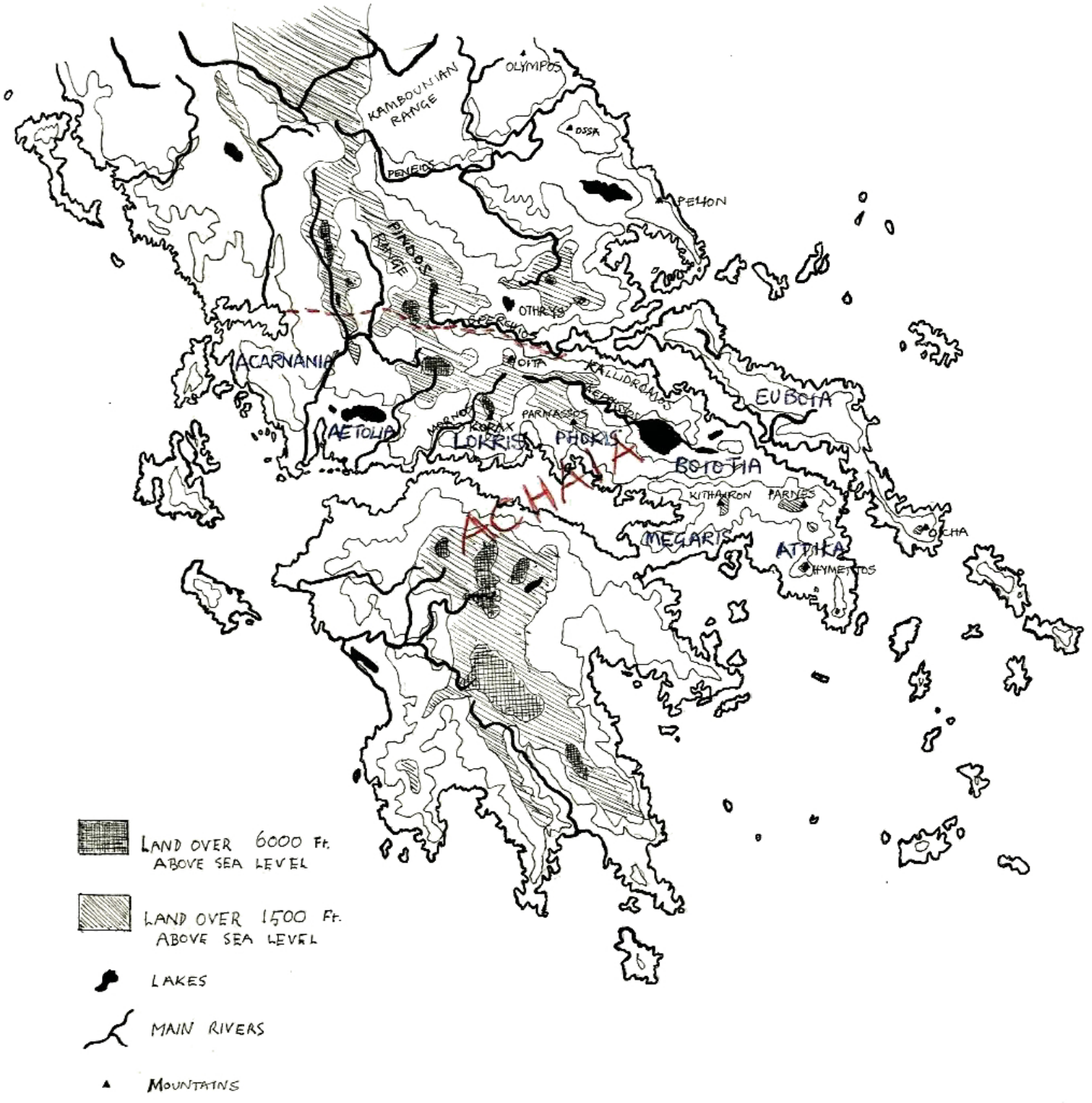
1. The Geographical extent of the 'thema Ellados'.

The basic divisions of Byzantine administration in the Balkan peninsula were laid down by the Romans. Central Greece came into the diocese of Macedonia, which comprised the provinces of Macedonia I and part of Macedonia Salutaris, Epiros I and II, Thessaly, Achaia and Crete. [1] Thus Achaia designated all of continental Greece below the Nikopolis/Lamia line, including the island of Euboia and Peloponnesos. The name Achaia was taken over from a smaller region in N.W. Peloponnesos, and the term 'Ellas' did not feature in Roman administration.

Within the province of Achaia there were distinct regional subdivisions (see map). In continental Greece, Acarnania and Aetolia lay in the west coast opposite the island of Kephalonia and the north coast of Peloponnesos respectively. Further east lay Lokris, in two separate sections, and Phokis and Boiotia, which faced on to the gulf of Euripos; Euboia was always considered as an integral part of this region. To the south of Boiotia lay Megaris in the west and Attika in the east. Kiepert calls these parts of Achaia " continental Middle-Greece ", noting that it has been misnamed 'Proper-Hellas' by geographers in imitation of Pliny and other Roman authors. [2] When and if the term 'Ellas' was

1. O. Seeck, Notitia dignitatuum, (Berlin, 1876) III, 4, 8-13.
2. H. Kiepert, Formae Orbis Antiqui, (Berlin, 1894) map XV.

The Roman Province of Achaia



substituted for Achaia as for example in the Synekdemos of Ierokles, it naturally included all regions of Achaia, not just Central Greece. [3]

North of the Nikopolis/Lamia line lay the province of Thessaly, with its own subdivisions, Dolopia, Estiaeotis, Thessaliotis, Achaia-Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis and Magnesia. South, beyond the isthmus of Corinth, Peloponnesos contained Elis, Messenia, Achaia, Arcadia, Laconia and Argolis.

At the end of the fourth century, the diocese of Macedonia was incorporated into a new and larger circumscription, the pretorian prefecture of Illyricum. [4] This development brought no significant changes to the provinces of Central Greece save in one respect: it brought them directly into the Eastern half of the Empire. Previously the Balkans had formed part of the prefecture of Italy, therefore of the West. While administratively Achaia now became subject to the East and Constantinople, ecclesiastically its churches remained part of the diocese of Illyricum which was dependent on the see of Rome. Illyricum was not administered directly by the Pope, but by his vicar, the Metropolitan of Thessalonike. Nonetheless, in any dispute, the final arbiter for bishops of Achaia was Rome, not Constantinople. [5]

From the late sixth century onwards barbarian incursions began to disturb the neat map of Roman provincial boundaries. Two hundred years later when imperial armies started to re-establish control in central Greece, Byzantine areas were not clearly delineated. There is no indication of the extent of control exercised by Leontios, the first

3. E. Honigmann, Le Synekdemos d'Hiérokles, (Brussels, 1939) 16.
4. O. Seeck, op. cit. III, 4. 8-13.
5. L. Duchesne, Eglises separées, (Paris, 1945) 241-50. When Justinian separated the province of Achaia from Illyricum, the Archbishop of Corinth became papal vicar of Achaia.

known stratègos of the 'Elladikoi'.[6] But it is unlikely that his authority would have been recognised north of Boiotia, where many Slavonic groups had settled during the seventh century.[7] It is, unfortunately, impossible to trace the gradual extension of Byzantine rule in these regions. In fact the sources are so vague that it is difficult to establish the precise limits of the new administration once it was set up. Still by mapping out all that is known about the system in Central Greece, some tentative conclusions can be made.

The eighth century provinces of Byzantine administration were called 'themata'. For information about these units of government, the major source is a geographical treatise by the Emperor Constantine VII, Peri tôn thematôn, written in the first half of the tenth century.[8] But even with the help of this text it is not easy to define the frontiers

6. The meaning of the term 'thema tôn Elladikôn' has caused considerable differences among scholars. J. B. Bury in an article in EHR, XVII, 1892, 80-1, saw in the term the local population of the region of Ellas, designated in exactly the same way as the Armeniakoi, inhabitants of the 'thema Armeniakon'. Against this, P. Charanis put forward the hypothesis that Elladikoi had a national and ethnic sense, and was not simply an administrative and geographical term, see EEBS, XXIII, 1953, 615-20. Recently A. Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin, 38 (and note 2 especially), has summarized the evidence and concluded that Bury's ideas were the more correct. A. Pertusi, however, has indicated that in the sixth century there already was a military corps called the 'Elladikoi', see De Them. 170. His evidence is derived from Kosmas Indikopleustès, PG , 88. col. 169, but this reads more like a reference to the Christian inhabitants of the area than to a military group.
7. The Velegetzetai had settled in the coastal parts of Thessaly, see Miracula, col. 1325. Later, in the eighth century part of the territory of the Elladikoi, an unidentified region called Velzetia, was inhabited by a Slavonic group under their ruler Akamer, Theophanès, 473-4.
8. De Thematibus, edited by A. Pertusi, Rome, 1952, henceforth cited as De Them.

of the 'themata' in Central Greece. The 'thema Ellados' reconstructed roughly the northern section of the province of Achaia, continental Middle Greece, but its limits can only be established with reference to the other 'themata'. [9]

In the north, the 'thema Thessalonikès' constituted a frontier zone against the troublesome Bulgars. On the west coast of the Balkans, 'themata' centred on Dyrrachion and Nikopolis reconstructed the Roman provinces of Epiros I and II, and below the Isthmus of Corinth, Peloponnesos constituted a separate unit. [10] The remaining area of Central Greece included what had been the provinces of Thessaly, but excluded the regions of Acarnania and Aetolia which had been incorporated into the 'thema Nikopoleôs'. Clearly, the 'thema Ellados' must fit into this area, but whereas its eastern and southern frontiers are definitely fixed by the coast and the Isthmus, in the north and west there is no obvious frontier.

Constantine is here unhelpful, and modern scholars disagree among themselves. [11] If other sources provided information about 'themata' borders, there would be no problem. Unfortunately, there is very rarely any reference to internal borders, unless they are being overrun by the enemy, when a key frontier town, river or mountain pass might be mentioned. [12] The most useful references are those which attribute

9. See, for example, the successful deliniation of the territory of the Thrakèsion 'thema' in H. Antoniades- Bibicou, Histoire Maritime, 74-8, which gives added force to the author's argument about the non-existence of the 'thema tôn Karabisianôn'.
10. De Them. 168-73, 176-7.
11. Ibid. 89. Constantine had very little about Ellas to add to what Ieroklès had written four hundred years before. He copied the latter's list of the cities of the 'eparchia Ellados èguon Achaias', noting that Diokletianoupolis had disappeared. In fact, by the tenth century, many other sixth century cities no longer existed, but Constantine either ignored this or did not bother to say so.
12. In the northern Balkans the Danube was such a natural border, and the city of Sirmium was a key fortress.

to one 'thema' a city, fortress or pass, identifying it clearly in one administrative unit. Seals of provincial towns and their officials are similarly indicative. But these are very few. In the case of the 'thema Ellados' they are limited to the identification of Demetrias as a city of Ellas, and of Larissa as the city where Kekaumenos' father held the 'archèn tès Ellados'. [13]

One further set of information, namely the ecclesiastical provincial boundaries, could be used, but the geography of church administration often differed from that of 'themata', so it is a problematic source of evidence. [14]

In this situation, there seems to be only one way of establishing the most likely frontiers of Ellas - by reference to the physical map of the Balkans. Although these internal boundaries were not of supreme importance, it was clearly desirable that they be firmly fixed, so that the authority of each 'thema' was defined. In the interests of clarity, it is highly likely that physical features would have been built into the boundaries. So by examining the topography of Central Greece, it may

13. Three authors agree that Demetrias, on the Gulf of Volos, was in the 'thema Ellados', Theophanès cintinuatus, 860, 864; Kameniatès, 506, and Kekaumenos, 28. But with Naupaktos, for example, there is a contradiction. Constantine placed it under Ellas, but Kedrènos put it in the 'thema' of Nikopolis; see De Them, 89, Kedrènos, II, 529. A. Pertusi, De Them. 171, merely states as a certainty that Naupaktos was the capital of the 'thema' of Nikopolis. Larissa, on the other hand, was indisputably in the 'thema Ellados', see Kekaumenos, 65. Town seals are often ecclesiastic and therefore pose the same problems as ecclesiastical boundaries, see note 14 below. But there is an interesting one for the Metropolitan of 'Patrai of the Elladikoi', distinguished from the see of Palaiai Patrai in the katôtika merè, see V. Laurent, Le Corpus des Sceaux, (Paris, 1965) V, no. 763.
14. S. Kyriakidès, Byzantinai Meletai IV, in Epistèmonikè Epetèris Thessalonikès, II, 1934-9, 405, has cautioned against equating ecclesiastical with administrative boundaries, and his research has indicated how different the two could be.

be possible to suggest the most plausible frontiers of the 'thema Ellados'.

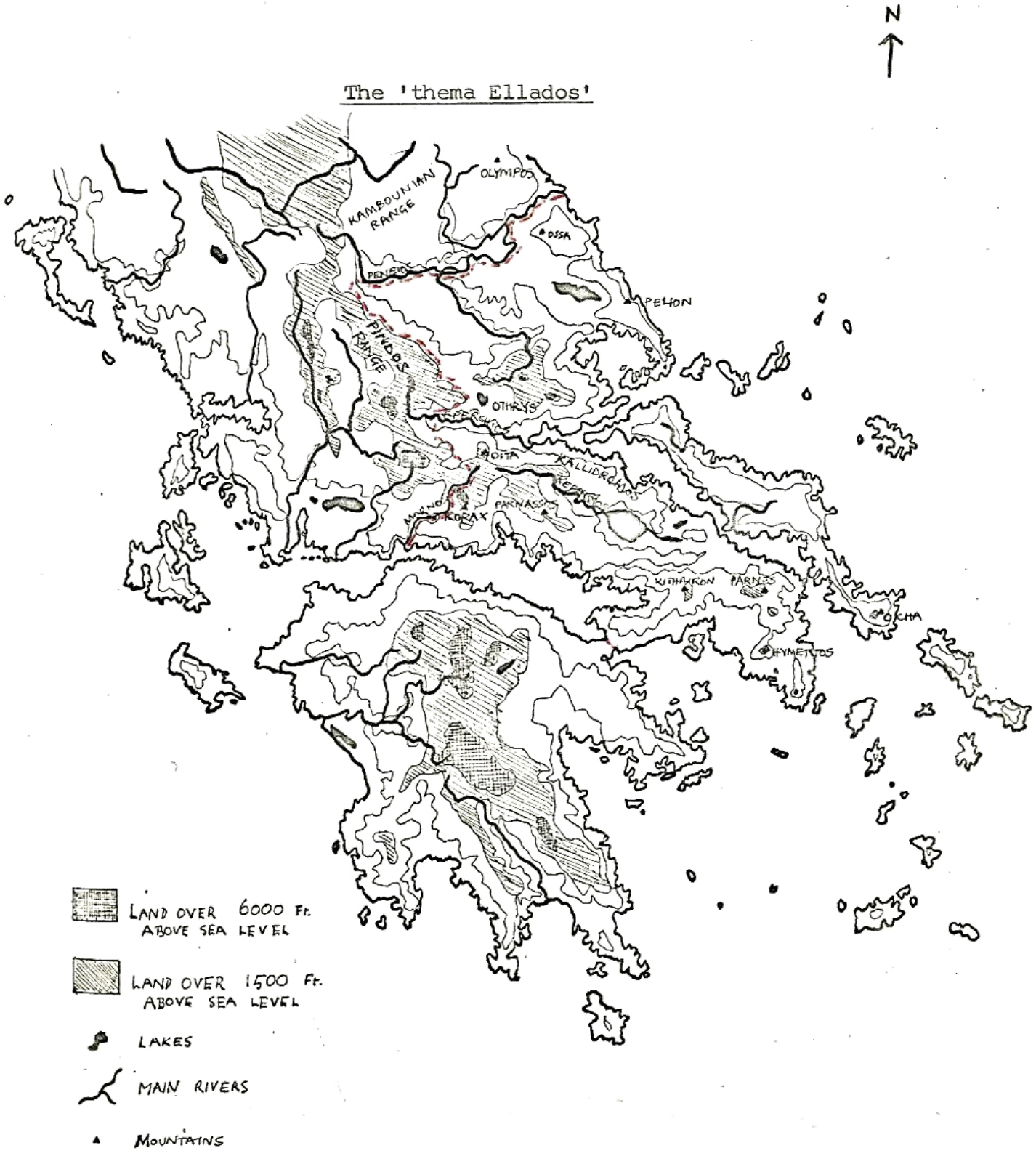
2. Topographical outline.

In the twelfth century the 'thema Ellados' was said to stretch from "Tempe to Sparta", indicating that the plain of Thessaly was included. [15] Geographical considerations would confirm this; the gorge of Tempe, by which the River Peneios finds its way to the sea, is and always has been a formidable frontier. At the most restricted passage the gorge is 50m. wide, and is controlled by the peaks of Mount Olympos on the northern side and Mount Ossa on the southern. Understandably Tempe was known as the Jaws of the Wolf- it was an ideal site for ambushes; and from classical times it prevented invading armies from pressing south towards Thessaly. [16]

Tempe was the only entrance to the plain from the main coastal road. Two very high passes, however, from Petra and Phylakè (medieval Serbia), N.W. of the Olympos range, penetrated south to Elasson, and thence to Larissa. They were both over 3,000 ft. high and rough. Further west, near Trikkala, where the Kambounian mountains joined the Pindos range, another route entered the plain of Thessaly. [17] This

15. M. Ch. I, 177.
16. M. Cary, The Geographical Background of Greek and Roman History, (Oxford, 1949) 44; Alexiade, II, 29. Boniface of Montferrat used this route for his triumphant journey into Central Greece in 1204, see N. Ch. 794, 799.
17. Henri de Valenciennes, Histoire de l'Empereur Henri, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1872) para. 647-8, indicates that there was another difficult route from Kitros, on the coast, west to Venitsa on the River Aliakmon, and thence south joining the Dyrrachion/Trikkala road. The pass to Serbia north of Elasson was used in 1259 by the combined Crusader and Epérot forces, see Chronicle of Morea, line 3673-6.

The 'thema Ellados'



was the overland route from Dyrrachion and the Via Egnatia, which passed south through Kastoria and Grevena to Stagoi (Kalabaka, site of the Meteora monasteries), on the River Salavría, tributary of the Peneios. [18] At Stagoi one of the few mountain passes over the Pindos, the route from Iôannina, came down to the Salavria through the Zygos pass. [19] Both entered the plain at Trikkala, which was a key site in the defence of Thessaly. Trikkala was also the point of entrance for the route from Arta which crossed the Pindos at Porta, where the church of Porta Panagia still stands. [20]

From this survey of the northern limit of the plain of Thessaly, it is clear that the combination of the River Peneios, flowing south-west from Tempe to Trikkala, and the foothills of the Olympos and Kambounian ranges effectively sealed off Thessaly from the North. It would seem likely that this natural barrier across the Balkans formed an internal frontier between the themata of Central Greece and those of the North, especially the 'thema Thessalonikès'. The southern limit of the latter is much debated, some authors setting it as far south as Neai Patrai, others at the Kambounian mountains. [21] While not being able to specify

18. In the winter of 1082, Bohemond entered Thessaly by this route and began the Norman seige of Larissa, Alexiade, II, 23.
19. The Zygos pass is the watershed between the River Achelous and the Peneios. It prevented the invading Italian forces from advancing beyond Metsovo in 1940, M. Cary, op. cit. 45, note 1.
20. The church of Porta Panagia was erected by the sons of Michael II of Epiros, John and Nikephoros Doukas in the 1280's, close to the pass into Thessaly, due west of Trikkala, see A. Orlandos, È Porta-Panagias tès Thessalias, Archeion tôn byzantinôn mnèmeôn, I, 1935, 5-40.
21. De Them. 169. Pertusi here states that the valley of the Peneios probably constituted the southern border of Thessalonikè's territory, but on his map he indicates that the plain of Thessaly was divided, Thessalonikè controlling the western half down to the Sperchios. Kyriakidès, op. cit. 406. suggests that the Kambounian range divided the two 'themata'. C. Astruc, Un document inédit de 1163 sur l'Evêché thessalien de Stagoi, in BCH, LXXXIII, 1959, 214, 221 and 242, stresses the difficulties of establishing these boundaries.

the exact boundary, it is possible to argue from the geographical factors that the Peneios was probably taken as the basic frontier.

This is borne out by the twelfth century evidence. After the final defeat of the Bulgars in 1018, Basil II established three small 'themata' in regions which had repeatedly been fought over - Kastoria, Serbia and Berroia. [22] The creation of these units was intended to control the western approaches to Thessalonikè and the central range of the Pindos, where disaffected Bulgars and Vlachs still lived almost beyond Byzantine authority. The effectiveness of these units was not striking and their continued existence until the late twelfth century is not proven. But in 1163 it is clear that the 'thema Serbiôn' was still functioning. [23] The important episcopal city of Stagoi was in this unit, and held lands by virtue of a praktikon issued by the chartoularios of the 'thema'. The fact that Stagoi formed part of Serbion suggests that the southern boundary of that 'thema' was at the tributary of the Peneios which formed a clear northern limit to the plain of Thessaly. Probably the 'thema Berroias' extended as far south as Tempe. Before the wars with Bulgaria both had been part of the 'thema Thessalonikès'.

In the west of Thessaly, the backbone of the Pindos range completely severed the 'themata' of Nikopolis and Dyrrachion from 'themata' on the east coast. South of the two passes from Iôannina and Arta to Thessaly, there were no open routes over the mountains, so the slopes of the Pindos constituted a clear western frontier, running south from Trikkala to Gomphoi, and S.E. via Mètropolis and Kallithera.

The fact that three important lines of communication, from

22. Kyriakidès, op. cit.
23. Astruc, op. cit. 223-8.

Thessalonikè to Central Greece, from the N. W. Balkans to the south and from the west coast via Arta and Iôannina to Thessalonikè, meant that the Thessalian plain had great strategic importance. Control of these routes meant free communication throughout the South Balkans. When the Pindos range was held by the Bulgars, contact between West and East was severed, and Nikopolis was reduced to isolation. It was in order to rectify this dangerous situation that the three 'themata' of Kastoria, Serbia and Berroia were set up in the early eleventh century.

The southern border of Thessaly had been established in ancient times on the Nikopolis/Lamia line, which subsequently became the frontier between Thessaly and Achaia. This line basically followed the course of the River Sperchios, although Lamia itself was not reckoned as a Thessalian city. It was situated right on the border. The Sperchios valley clearly fell within the confines of Thessaly, despite the natural barrier of Mt. Othrys just to the north. This mountain ridge was easily bridged by several routes, the main one of which passed through Thaumakos.[24] To the east of Lamia a coastal road led to the gulf of Volos, via the Byzantine cities of Echinos, Gardikion, Almyros and Demetrias and north to Magnesia and Mt. Pelion.[25] There were other routes to the west of Mt. Othrys connecting Thessaly with the Sperchios, but this region was much less densely populated than the prosperous cities on the Gulf of Volos.[26]

24. After his triumphant entry into the Bulgar strongholds of Prespa and Ochrid, Basil II journeyed to Athens, via Kastoria, Serbia, Stagoi, Zetouni (medieval Lamia) and Thermopylai, see Kedrènos, II, 474-5. It would seem likely that this route would have passed through Thaumakos.
25. This coastal route was used by Benjamin of Tudela in the 1160's, see M. N. Adler, The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, (London, 1907) 11.
26. Significantly there were no Byzantine bishoprics west of Neai Patrai, ancient Ypata; whereas around the Gulf of Volos, Echinos, Gardikion, Velestinon and Demetrias had been established for many centuries. The prosperity of this area is attested by twelfth century travellers such as Edrisi and Benjamin of Tudela.

Below the Nikopolis/Lamia line communication was decisively barred by the Oita range, and this fact emphasized the strategic importance of the coastal road through the pass of Thermopylai. [27] An extremely difficult route running south from Lamia to Amphissa existed but it was rarely used until the Franks developed it in the thirteenth century. [28] Thermopylai continued to be the main line of communication as it had been in classical times, although the three alternative routes from the head of the Asopos valley were better known and guarded. The Asopos gorge, controlled by the ancient castle of Herakleia, medieval Boudonitsa, led up to the Kallidromos range, where the route divided. [29] The most westerly led along the Anopaia track to the end of the Thermopylai corridor; the central pass went south over the Kleisoura into the Kephissos valley, while a S. W. route crossed the upper reaches of the Kephissos to join the route to Amphissa via Gravia. [30]

Once past Thermopylai communication was not so difficult. The quickest route to Peloponnesos passed through Amphissa to the coast, either at Galaxeidion or further west at Vitrinitsa where one crossed by ship to Vostitsa, ancient Aigion, on the coast near Patrai. [31] Despite

27. Almost all north-south traffic would have had to use the pass at Thermopylai, so it was a vulnerable point. Basil II added to the ancient and Justinianic fortifications in 1018, see Kedrènos, II, 475.
28. A. Bon, Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce Centrale, in BCH, LXI, 1937, 139, identifies the castle controlling this route as Siderokastron, which is once mentioned in the Chronicle of Morea, ed. P. Kalonaros (Athens, 1940) line 3634 as Sideroporta. There is still some confusion as to the exact site of this castle and its relation with medieval Gravia.
29. Bon, op. cit. 148; Chronicle of Morea, lines 1559, 3187, 3196; H. de Valenciennes, op. cit. para. 671. Boudonitsa and Medenitsa are interchangeable.
30. H. de Valenciennes, ibid, suggests that the central route was the main one south to Thebes and Athens.
31. Chronicle of Morea, lines 1456, 1942, 3626.

mountainous terrain in Phokis, Lokris, Boiotia and Attika, there was a direct route to the south down the Kephissos valley, via Diauleia, Chaironeia and Lake Kopais to Thebes. Thence, either over Mt. Kithairon to Megaris and Corinth, or skirting Mt. Parnes to Athens on a more easterly route.[32] Communication between Thebes and Chalkis, and between Athens and the island of Euboia was straightforward. Athens always tried to retain control over Oropos, the port of embarkation for Euboia.[33] Similarly, the coastal roads round Attika and from Chalkis to Thermopylai were not difficult to use except in early spring when the marshy coastland in Boiotia became a mass of little lakes.

Whereas the southern and eastern borders of the 'thema Ellados' are obvious, it is not easy to define the western border south of Thessaly. One of the problems is that this border, even when it had been theoretically drawn, was ineffective, mainly because of the impenetrable mountain terrain. When Emperor Constantine VII wrote, ... the 'thema' of Dyrrachion probably extended only 50 km. inland. Although the border between Thessalonikè and Nikopolis might lie on the Pindos range, clearly neither administration controlled up to this border. In the tenth century there was still a large no-man's- land occupied by Bulgar and Slavonic tribes who certainly did not observe the internal Byzantine frontiers.[34] Even in the twelfth century this was partially true, not only because officials failed to document the most inaccessible areas, but also because the local population of transhumant Vlachs often refused to co-operate with them.

32. Benjamin travelled from Corinth to Thebes over Mt. Kithairon, and on from Thebes to Chalkis and Thermopylai, see M. Adler, op. cit. 10. On the Kephissos valley route, see Bon, op. cit. 143-5, 148.
33. H. de Valenciennes, op. cit. para. 681-2 records how the Emperor sailed from an unidentified place on the coast of Attika to Chalkis; M. Ch. II, 131, illustrates the importance attached to Oropos.
34. De Them. 169, 176; H. Ahrweiler, Frontières et Régions frontières du VIIe au XIIe siècle, in XIVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Bucharest 1971, Rapports II, 14-6.

This central region of the Pindos range extending from S. W. Thessaly north to Lake Ochrid, was called Vlachia or Wallachia and clearly had a separate identity although it was not recognised as a separate unit by the Byzantines. Kekaumenos and Anna Komnenè both mention the Vlach population of N. Thessaly, their villages and flocks.[35] This information is confirmed and amplified by the Spanish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Lamia (Zetouni) in the 1160's, and found there the frontiers of Wallachia. Wherever they spent the winters, they obviously regarded their homes as being in the upper pastures of the Pindos mountains, where they took their flocks to spend the summer months.[36] This might involve a long and difficult journey into Bulgarian territory, so it is not surprising that the Vlachs in general kept on good terms with the Bulgars. They obviously knew the passes and routes across the mountains and helped to transport goods on the northern trade-route to the Via Egnatia and Dyrrachion, which was extensively used by Italian exporters.[37]

With this uncharted region and transhumant population on the borders of Thessaly, it seems quite likely that Byzantine officials would give up the theoretical frontiers established by administrators and Emperors in Constantinople, in order to concentrate on maintaining the natural though unofficial ones. In western Thessaly the highlands of the Pindos constituted such a frontier, beyond which control was nominal. South

35. Kekaumenos, 66-73; Alexiade, II, 24; G. Soulis, The Thessalian Vlachia, in ZRBI, VIII, (1) 1963, 271-4; M. Gyoni, Revue d'histoire comparée 23, 1945.
36. Adler, op. cit. 11; A. J. B. Wace and M. Thompson, Nomads of the Balkans, (London, 1914) 1-4.
37. In 976 Vlach travellers were responsible for the murder of a Bulgar leader in the region between Kastoria and Prespa, see Kedrènos, II, 435; G. Soules, Vlachia - Megalè Vlachia - e en Elladi Vlachia, in Geras A. Keramopolou, (Athens, 1953) 489-97; Lombardo and Rocca, Documenti, I, no. 353 (February 1185).

of Trikkala these mountains merged with the Oita range. At some point here the frontier crossed the Sperchios, bearing S.E. around Mt. Korax, which was a most impenetrable part of Phokis. The border between Ellas and Nikopolis probably ran through the mountains to the river Mornos which flowed into the Gulf of Corinth west of Krisa. This seems to be a more likely border than the important route from Gravia to Amphissa and the Gulf of Krisa. It constitutes the modern border between Aitolia and Phokis.[38]

So, in conclusion, the extent of the 'thema Ellados' in the twelfth century was probably as follows: the plain of Thessaly, south of the river Peneios and east of the Pindos mountains; the basin of the Sperchios and Central Greece east of the River Mornos, including the Northern Sporades and Euboia; the islands of Aigina, Syra, Kea and others off the coast of Attika.

3. Types of Cultivation and Distribution of Natural Resources.

This part of Greece consists largely of mountainous terrain; 32% high mountain, 50% semi-mountain, 10% semi-plain and only 8% plain, according to a recent economic survey.[39] In the twelfth century there was even less plain, as Lake Kopais and the marshy area on the north coast of Boiotia was not cultivated. Despite this small proportion of flat terrain suitable for cereal crops, Central Greece is and was quite productive. Thessaly, the Kephissos valley and the Northern tip of Euboia were particularly fertile.

38. National Statistical Service of Greece, Atlas of Greece, 1:200,000 (Athens, 1965) map 47.
39. B. Kayser and K. Thompson, Economic and Social Atlas of Greece (Athens, 1964) map 301.

Today only a quarter of the total area of Central Greece is cultivated, but this is a higher percentage than in other parts of Greece, and the wealth of the cultivated area is chiefly due to its rich mineral deposits.[40] In the twelfth century probably much less than a quarter could be brought under cultivation, and it is doubtful whether the Byzantines knew how to exploit all the minerals. In spite of these disadvantages, twelfth century Greece was not reduced to primitive and unproductive agriculture alone. Western sources are particularly helpful in indicating the cultivation and relative prosperity of the area.

Mountainous regions were terraced for vine and olive cultivation. On the lower slopes of the Pindos and Pelion ranges wild pears, figs, mulberries and nut trees flourished and citrus fruit was grown. Water supplies in Thessaly and the Kephissos valley were abundant enough to irrigate wheat, corn and cotton crops. The lowlands were eminently suitable for raising stock, Thessaly was famed for horses. In the more southern drier parts of Greece, vines and olives were the chief crops, and drought-resistant cereals were inter-cropped between the rows. While Attika suffered from the typical Mediterranean climate, being very short of water in a long dry summer, nearby Euboia had the reputation of remaining green and cool even in the hottest weather. This must have been due to its extensive forests and rivers.

But it was in minerals that Central Greece was richest. There is evidence that most deposits were tapped in the twelfth century, although it is impossible to be sure. Clearly the region had unlimited supplies of building materials, in the form of excellent limestone and marble deposits and plentiful wood; pine, beech, cyprus, plane and eucalyptus. There were copper and iron deposits as well as manganese, bauxite, silver and lead. The alluvial soils of river beds produced high quality

40. Ibid. map 301.

clay in addition to ordinary 'cooking-pot' material.

Distribution by regions.

1. Thessaly.

The strategic importance of Thessaly was matched by great fertility and wealth of natural resources. The central plain round Larissa was one of the most productive in Greece, enclosed in a ring of high ground running from Othrys in the south, Pelion and Ossa, the Kambounian range in the north, to Pindos in the west.[40a] This geographical situation encouraged wet winters and hot summers, a condition in which wheat flourishes. So it is not surprising that Thessaly was the chief producer of wheat.[41] Other cereals were also grown : oats, on the slopes of the Pindos, and barley, on the edges of the plain where rainfall and summer temperatures might be lower. Corn was concentrated in the Peneios valley where abundant water for irrigation was available. Well-watered areas also supported cotton crops.[42]

The well-watered plain provided meadowland suitable for stock-raising. Cattle, rare in all parts of Greece, flourished in Thessaly, as did horses, pigs, goats and sheep.[43] The open land encouraged large-scale farming which developed easily into estates controlled by a local gentry. This was certainly the case before the Slavonic incursions, but it was not re-established along with Byzantine authority in the late eighth century, as the type of Slav settlement mitigated against large estates. But gradually in the course of the succeeding centuries individuals asserted

40a. See the general comments of the Arab geographer Edrisi, La Géograph -ie d'Edrisi, ed. A. Jaubert, Paris 1824, II, 292.
41. Ibid. map 303; M. Ch. II, 83; Cary, op. cit. 64.
42. Ibid. maps 304, 305, 306; cotton was woven in Almyros, see N. Bees, in EEBS II, 1925, 134.
43. Ibid. maps 320, 321, 322, 323; Kekaumenos, 68-9.

control over larger tracts and the estates were built up again.[44]

In the N.W. of Thessaly the mulberry was cultivated on a large scale, probably for the silk farms near Thebes. There was a profusion of wild and cultivated fruits in this area. Along the gorge of Tempe in the N.E. a special variety of table grape was grown and several dried fruits were produced.[45] The east coast mountain range was famous for its beech woods and supply of building materials which were transported to the boat-building centres on the Gulf of Volos. Resin and charcoal were produced round Almyros. Pelion and Magnesia also produced all sorts of vegetables, fruits (both citrus and deciduous), wine, olives and table grapes. These regions constituted the market-garden of Thessaly.[46]

The mineral resources of Thessaly included the green-veined marble from Atrax, near Larissa, which was used in the revetment decoration of Agia Sophia. There was a most important copper belt in the Othrys range.[47] Building limestone was found in all the mountain formations of Thessaly and was mined for local building, for example in the fortifications of Larissa and the large palaio-christian basilicas at Nea Anchialos (Thebes in Phthiotis). Excavations at the last site have revealed many metal objects, probably made in the locality, swords,

44. By the twelfth century, the Maliasènos, Petraliphas, Katakalôn and Aggelos families had large-scale landholdings in Thessaly, see MM, IV, 266-7; MM, V, 345-9, 333-4, 330-2; PG 127, 403-4; TT. I, 487.
45. Astruc, op. cit. 214, 221, 242, reveals that the mulberry was an extremely valuable asset; Wace and Thompson, op. cit. 15, 17; Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. map 313.
46. Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 308, 309, 313, 315, 316, 327.
47. Ibid. map 401; O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (Oxford, 1935) 240; Cary, op. cit. 42; Paul the Silentiary, Ekphrasis tou naou tès Agias Sophias, CSHB 1837, ed. I. Bekker, 32.

arrow and spear-heads, buckles and other weapons.[48] In the twelfth century there is less evidence of metal products but the fitting-out of boats was carried on. Whether with justification, or out of desperation, the Metropolitan of Athens requested the Bishop of Gardikion to find him some men who could make a cart. Probably he knew that wheelwrights and carpenters worked in the area.[49]

2. The Sperchios valley.

The valley shared some of the climatic advantages of Thessaly but it was not so open and therefore did not get enough heat to produce wheat. Corn, however, flourished in the irrigated parts. Apples, table olives and timber grew on the slopes.[50] The chief resource of the Sperchios region lay in the mouth of the river, silted up even in Byzantine times. Large deposits of alluvial soil were particularly useful for all clay objects, not only pottery but bricks, tiles, pipes and so on. In the eighth century the central government ordered 500 clay-workers (keramopoioi) to be sent from Central Greece to Constantinople to assist in rebuilding. This otherwise strange request can be understood if one remembers that the production of clay articles was common in Greece.[51]

3. Phokis and Lokris.

These very mountainous parts of Greece were most suited to the olive

48. G. Sôtèriou, Ai Christianikai Thèbai tès Thessalias, Archaiologikè Ephèmeris, 1929, 1-58; A. Pallas, Ta archaiologika tekmèria tès kathodou tôn barbarôn eis tèn Ellada, in Ellènika, XIV, 1955, 87-104; J. Werner, Slawische Bronzefigüren aus Nordgriechenland, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie des Wissenschaften, Kl. fur Gesellschaftswissenschaften, 1952 (2), 5-7.
49. Lombardo and Rocca, Documenti, I, no. 202 (March 1168); M. Ch. II, 69.
50. Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 305, 316, 318, 327.
51. Ibid. 105; Theophanès, 440; Cary, op. cit. 65.

and vine rather than cereal crops. The valley of Krisa produced a special variety of table olive, still famous today, and a large quantity of wine grapes. Nuts, fruit and timber grew abundantly.[52]

4. Boiotia.

Around Lake Kopais, rich alluvial soils and well-watered hills were suitable for wheat and barley, especially the latter, which is more adaptable than wheat. Cotton flourished in these conditions, and flocks of horses, sheep and goats were bred.[53] The wealth of Orchomenos is recorded in one of the inscriptions on the ninth century church at Skripou.[54] East of the Lake there was a marshy area around the mouth of the Kephissos, but a bit further south on the coast opposite Chalkis olives, citrus fruits, grapes and currants were grown.[55]

Iron was the main mineral deposit of Boiotia. In classical times its iron helmets were famous, but it is not clear whether the Byzantines ever devised an efficient smelting system, and therefore managed to improve on ancient techniques. Probably iron mining continued but production was limited.[56]

5. Euboia.

The prosperity of this large island attracted foreign merchants to its

52. Ibid. maps 313, 315, 316, 318; Delphoi has given its name to the special sort of large black olive from Phokis, but it is grown in the plain between Delphoi and Amphissa, not on the mountain slopes.
53. Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 105, 303, 304, 320, 322, 323; the cotton woven in Almyros may have been grown around Lake Kopais, see N. Bees in EEBS, II, 1925, 134.
54. M. Sôtèriou, O naos tès Skripous Boiotias, Archaiologikè Ephèmeris, 1931, 156.
55. Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 314, 315, 316, 317.
56. Davies, op. cit. 45.

ports from an early date. Its wealth of natural resources, iron, copper, marble and timber was matched by an ideal Mediterranean climate, with above-average rainfall. These conditions favoured a great variety of crops and enhanced the reputation of Euboia as a cool, green hospitable port of call.[57]

The northern section of the island was strategically significant, for it controlled access to the Gulf of Volos. The region around Ôreoi, site of a Byzantine bishopric, was also extremely fertile, supporting winter and summer vegetable crops, apples, pears, grapes and charcoal and resin production.[58] In central Euboia, the name Chalkis was derived from considerable copper deposits nearby, although those at Chalkis itself had been exhausted by the Byzantine period. Production continued, however, at Aidepsos and Choironèsè.[59] A little barley and corn were grown, as well as citrus fruits, vines and nuts. Most of Euboia was mountainous and well-wooded, and it was famed for its wine and honey.[60]

The southern section permitted stock-raising, particularly cattle and goats, and encouraged fruit growing. At Karystos there were important marble deposits of a green-veined stone, and on Mt. Ocha extensive iron workings.[61]

6. Attika and Megaris.

In marked contrast to Euboia, this part of Central Greece was notoriously hot and dry. It was stony, sandy and lacked good topsoil.[62]

57. M. Ch. I, 180-1; Edrisi, op. cit. II, 295-6.
58. Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 308, 309, 315, 318, 327.
59. Davies, op. cit. 43-4.
60. M. Ch. II, 83; Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 304, 305, 313, 315, 317
61. Ibid. maps 315, 317, 321, 322; Davies, op. cit. 45; Cary, op. cit. 42.
62. M. Ch. I, 307; II, 11, 26-7, 42.

But in these conditions the vine and olive both flourish, and Attika has always been a major producer of resinated wine and oil.[63] Neither wheat nor corn can survive without greater irrigation than is possible in most summers in Attika, so barley was the chief cereal crop.[64] It was cultivated in the flatter parts, the Kephissos valley, the Mesogaia, the Thria plain and the westernmost section of the Megaris, a more protected region. Elsewhere there was market-gardening, rather than large-scale farming. Vegetables, soft fruits, currants, honey and citrus fruits were the main products.[65] A crop particular to Attika was the pistachio nut; today Attika and Aigina account for 70% of Greece's pistachio crop.[66]

The main wealth of the region was in minerals. The white marble of Mount Pentelè was especially sought after in ancient times; under the Byzantines the blue-grey vein of Mount Hymettos was also opened and intensively worked. Limestone was plentiful and the Kephissos river estuary provided fine quality clay. The famous silver mines at Laurion had been almost exhausted in ancient times, but it is clear that shafts were reopened in the fifth century A. D. With the subsequent loss of silver mines in the Northern Balkans, Laurion deposits became more important and were undoubtedly reworked. Small quantities of iron at Mount Hymettos, Marathon and Daphni, and of lead at Sounion were also mined.[67]

63. Ibid. II, 25, 27, 83, Michael disliked the resinated wine produced in Athens, but praised the wine of Ptèlikon; Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 315, 316.
64. The Athenians are characterised as "krithophagountes", see M. Ch. II, 42.
65. Kayser and Thompson, op. cit. maps 304, 309, 313, 314; M. Ch. II 26, 303; Edrisi, op. cit. II, 295.
66. Ibid. map 313.
67. Ibid, map 401; Cary, op. cit. 76; Davies, op. cit. 246, 252; silver used in Agia Sophia, Paul the Silentiary, op. cit. 33.

This brief survey illustrates the relative distribution of natural resources and cultivation in the 'thema Ellados'. Larissa and the plain of Thessaly was clearly the most productive area, followed by Pelion on the east coast and the foothills of Pindos in the west, Boiotia and Euboia. Attika was the most barren, although richer in mineral deposits then either Phokis or Lokris.

These factors help to explain partially why Thessaly was so densely settled by the Slavs, while the mountainous and inhospitable regions of Attika and Lokris were hardly touched. They also indicate one reason why military control over the main routes south of Thessalonikè was a primary objective of Byzantine campaigns in the period of reconques Larissa was clearly a vital stronghold, which had to be defended against invaders from the north, west and south.

In the twelfth century, the prominence of Thebes as the economic centre of Central Greece would seem to spring partly from its position in the fertile Kephissos plain, which was like Thessaly a key position in internal communications. Despite the fact that Athens controlled an important port, magnificent citadel, and had a long tradition of government in Central Greece, at this time it was outstripped by both Corinth and Thebes. There were undoubtedly complex reasons for this decline, but it may have been due in part to the less favourable economic situation of Attika, the absence of silk weaving and other industries. In rather the same way, Nikopolis, the administrative capital of Epiros Veteros, was gradually replaced by Ioannina and Arta, two inland sites on major lines of internal communication. It would be incorrect to attribute to geographical factors too great a role in these developments, but clearly topographical and climatic conditions played some part in the formation of the 'thema Ellados'.

A Note on the expression "ta katôtika merè".

"Ta katôtika merè" is a term used by various authors to describe the most southerly parts of Greece, especially Peloponnesos, Southern Italy and Sicily. To the population of the capital the "katôtika merè" were those places "down under" (in rather the same way as the English tend to refer to Australia). The term seems to indicate a certain inferiority associated with these areas.

Nikolaos, Bishop of Methônè recorded that his ecclesiastical see was situated in the katôtika merè, see J. Dräseke, Nikolaos von Methone, BZ I, 1892, 445. The see of Patras was also in this region, see page 20 above, note 13. Michaèl Chôniatès described the inhabitants of Attika as "oi katôtikoi", and frequently used the expression "katôtika merè" of the orion of Athens, see M. Ch. I, 307, 311; II, 46, 68, 105, 131. This is employed with a more precise meaning than the rhetorical phrase " è èmetera eschatia", often employed when Michaèl bewailed the poverty of Central Greece.

References to the katôtika merè have been collected by K. Amantos, see Ellènika I, 1928, 244; Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin, 159-60, and P. Charanis, On the History of Greece in the Middle Ages, Balkan Studies, XI, 1970, 5-6.

CHAPTER TWO.

The Population of Central Greece in the Twelfth Century.

Introduction.

Whatever their ethnic origins the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Central Greece in the twelfth century, whom modern historians describe as Byzantines, thought of themselves as Romans. They considered their ruler the Roman Emperor, despite the fact that he might be an Armenian who could not write Greek. This identification of the Empire and its subjects as Roman lessened the significance of different nationalities among the population. Yet it was a very mixed society, unified by two essential qualities : knowledge of Greek, the official language of the Empire; and belief in the Christian faith. Foreigners who were ignorant of these two were branded as barbarians by the Byzantines, but individuals who showed themselves ready to adopt both, were easily assimilated into the population. In this way the Empire gradually absorbed and hellenised many different races. By the twelfth century Armenians, Russians, Bulgars, Slavs and Italians were among the Byzantine population.

'Nationalism' as such, did not exist in the Byzantine Empire, as there was no Byzantine nation. Despite this, the population found a unity of purpose in the Empire, and identified themselves through imperial concepts for many centuries. Hardly surprisingly, separate ethnic consciousness was nearly always connected with nationalist revolts against imperial authority. The continued existence of the Empire and its Roman traditions is evidence of the ability to deal with such revolts in a multi-national Empire. And the fact that some of these revolts were highly successful in the last years of the twelfth century indicates that this system was beginning to fail.

Central Greece was one of the areas affected by such separatist movements, so it is interesting to examine the different sections of what appeared at the beginning of the century to be a thoroughly Byzantine population. The homogeneous effect had been produced by centuries of 'byzantinising' - effected by the imperial machinery designed to hellenise and educate non-Greek and often pagan peoples. But historically, many ethnic groups made up the population of Central Greece, some of which still kept apart from the others even in the twelfth century. So an analysis of how they came to be in this area helps to explain their subsequent social positions.

This historical account is also necessitated by the present revival of the nineteenth century theory of Fallmerayer.[1] Briefly, this theory claimed that the entire population of ancient Greece was obliterated by the arrival of thousands of Slav tribes in the early medieval period. The consequences of this event led Fallmerayer to believe that the population of modern Greece was of Slav origin and had absolutely no ethnic links with the ancient Greeks. Reacting against this, Greek historians claimed that Slav influence in Greece was minimal and that the ancient Greek race survived in a pure and unadulterated form to become the ancestors of the modern Greek nation.[2] This quarrel has led to prejudiced examination of the sources and twisting of the evidence in attempts either to minimise or to exaggerate the extent of Slav domination. The crucial period in the debate lasts for over 200 years, between the late sixth century and the early ninth century. Modern historians have often taken sides in the debate without considering

1. J. P. Fallmerayer, Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea, während des Mittelalters, 2 vols. Stuttgart and Tubingen, 1830-36.
2. See for example, C. N. Sathas, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce, vol. I, xxviii, Paris 1880; and D. Zakythinos, Oi Slaboi en Ellada, Athens 1945.

all the evidence of medieval sources and of archaeology. The following survey of this evidence is not a detailed study but aims to give a balanced account of the Slav incursions.

The Avars.

The long-haired Avar chieftains who visited the court of Justinian were typical of those races described as barbarians by the Byzantines. [1] They were among the most warlike of the many Slavonic and Hunnic tribes, who sought to enter the Empire either as foederatoi or as invaders from the fourth century onwards. Whereas the Roman Empire in the West had succumbed to this pressure in the early fifth century, in the East the imperial government devised methods of occupying and settling the barbarians. Goths, Gepids, Huns, Skyths and many other tribes had been accomodated or moved out of imperial territory by the reign of Justinian, but then the Avaro-Slavs appeared. In 517 they penetrated the Balkan peninsula as far as Thermopylae; in 540 they reached the Isthmus of Corinth. [2] But by extensive building operations in the Balkans and by diplomatic subtleties Justinian was able to keep the barbarians north of the Danube. It was the Avars' successful siege of Sirmium, which fell in 582, that broke the effectiveness of the northern frontier of the Empire. [3] Using Sirmium as a base, they constantly pushed south, looting, burning and terrifying the local population. Their first serious raids in Central

1. Menander, Excerpta de legationibus Barbarorum, ed. I. Bekker and B. Niebuhr, CSHB, 1829, 285-90; Chronique de Monemvasie, 8.
2. Prokopius, History of the wars, ed. H. B. Dewing, 2, Bk. II, IV, 288. Comes Marcellinus, Chronicon, PLLI, col. 393.
3. Menander, op. cit. 424-5; John of Ephesos, Ecclesiastical History, English translation by R. Payne Smith, Oxford, 1860, VI, 30, 442-5.

Greece took place in the years 581-4, according to John of Ephesos, and by the late 580s they had settled near Demetrias, Thebes and Athens.[1] In the sixth year of the reign of Maurice, 587-8, they occupied areas in Western, Central and Southern Peloponnesos. The inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula who were threatened by these invasions fled to the most inaccessible mountainous areas or took to the sea. Some sailed as far as Sicily.[2] Those who lived in the walled cities organised their defence, but they received no assistance from imperial forces. During this period the Emperor Maurice was preoccupied by events on the Persian front, and subsequently Phokas and Heraklios were challenged by much greater military forces in the East, and could do nothing to relieve the Balkan cities.

So the Avars were permitted to settle in the Western parts of the Empire. Byzantine authors and chroniclers are neither clear nor specific about these barbarian settlements. Often the terms Avar and Slav are used interchangeably. It is probable that both tribes took part in the invasions of the 580s.[3] The Slavs appear to have been dependent on the Avars until the latter failed to capture Constantinople in 626. The Avars were always more warlike and militarily competent than the predominantly agricultural Slavs, who settled down to fishing and hunting in Greece.[4] Although the Slav tribes around Thessalonike tried many times to besiege the city, they failed to capture it. After the fall of Sirmium, Thessalonike became the

1. John of Ephesos, op. cit. VI, 25, 432-3; A. Tougard, De l'Histoire profane dans les actes grecs des Bollandistes, Paris, 1874, 166; Chronique de Monemvasie, 9.
2. Chronique de Monemvasie, 9-10; P. Charanis, On the question of the Hellenization of Sicily and Southern Italy during the Middle Ages, AHR, LII, 1946-7, 74-86.
3. Ibid. 9 and 10. The barbarians are called first Abaroi and then the Sthlabinos ethnos.
4. F. Barisic, Le siège de Constantinople par les Avares et les Slaves en 626, B, 24, 1954, 371-395; L. Hauptmann, Les Rapports des Byzantins avec les Slaves et les Avares pendant la seconde moitié du VIe siècle, B, IV, 1927-8, 137-70.

official seat of the Prefect of the Prefecture of Illyricum and remained the outpost of Byzantine control in the Balkans throughout the long period of Slav domination. But it was completely isolated in the midst of Sklabiniai, Slav-dominated territory, over which the Byzantines had no control.[1] Meanwhile the movement of population from north to south continued through the seventh century. By 700 there were large settlements of non-Greek, non-christian peoples in Southern and Central Greece, Thessaly, Southern Yugoslavia, Makedonia and Thrace, forming a belt stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Contact between Constantinople and the European parts of the Empire, the exarchate of Ravenna and provinces in Southern Italy, was severed when the Western section of the Via Egnatia fell into barbarian control. Even the section between the capital and Thessalonikè was not always safe.[2]

1. The city was first menaced in 550 but not besieged until 597, Miracula Sancti Demetrii, col.1235ff. The fact that gold was minted at Thessalonikè in this period suggests that the Prefect had been using it as his base for some time, probably from before 582, see M.F. Hendy, Aspects of coin production and fiscal administration in the late Roman and early Byzantine period (forthcoming article in Numismatic Chronicle 1972). The evidence of Theophanès, (347, 364), establishes beyond question the existence of the Sklaviniai, but their exact position is much disputed. It is clear that these Slav settlements were often hostile to the Byzantines. But some modus vivendi between Slavs and Greeks was gradually established. The debate over the position of the Sklabiniai usually degenerates into a form of the Fallmerayer thesis, seeking to prove the numerical superiority of the Slav race, instead of examining the nature of the Slav settlements. Without further archaeological evidence it is highly speculative to delineate areas of Slav domination.
2. G. Ostrogorsky, The Byzantine World in the Seventh Century, DOP 13, 1959, 1-21. In 688 Justinian II had to fight his way through to Thessalonikè, Theophanès, 364. The Emperor Constantine VII, who ruled from 944-959, wrote that the whole area of Greece had been slavicised, ἐσθλαβώθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα and cited an important example of this process, the increase in Slav population after the plague of 755-6. This plague reduced the indigenous population of Greece which was further cut down by the removal of people to the capital, see De Them. 91. In this situation an influx of Slavs would be most credible and we can accept Constantine's evidence. In many other cases claims for slavicisation or lack of it are supported by no specific instances and should be ignored.

Slav Settlements in Central Greece.

The number of place names of Slav origin suggests that there were Slav settlements throughout the Balkan peninsula, but that the distribution was not uniform.[1] Central Greece was densely settled in its most fertile areas, Thessaly and Phokis, but hardly effected in other, less prosperous areas. 230 Slav names are recorded in the medieval topography of Thessaly; 45 in Phokis; 22 (Boiotia), 19 (Euboia) and 18 in Attika. There is a similar division in Peloponnesos; 42 (Corinth and the Argolis), 387 (Western and Central Peloponnesos) and none in the Eastern part which remained a Greek area according to the Chronicle of Monembasia.[2] This extremely mountainous coastline, from Nauplion to Cape Malea, was the retreat of the indigenous population, who founded new sites like Monembasia.[3] It appears that the Slavs took over farming lands in the plains of Thessaly, the Argolis and Elis, driving the Greeks into less easily cultivated parts.

In addition to the large numbers of Slav place names, words of Slavonic origin found in Greece suggest an influence in domestic vocabulary. Common words, such as prochod (crossing), kamenitsa (rocks), pescanitsa (sand), and ozero (lake, marsh or bog), are found in many areas.[4] Derivation of some terms is disputed but it is quite clear that many are of non-Greek origin. The names of some of the Slav tribes have survived in Byzantine

1. M. Vasmer, Die Slaven in Griechenland, Berlin 1941.
2. Chronique de Monemvasie, 10.
3. P. Schreiner, La Foundation de Monemvasie en 582/3, Travaux et Mémoires, IV, 1970, 471-6. This is one of the few areas for which we have both literary and archaeological evidence, see M. F. S. Hood, An Aspect of the Slav invasions of Greece in the early Byzantine period, Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze, 20, 1966, No 1/2, 165-70; idem. Isles of Refuge in the early Byzantine Period, BSA LXV, 1970, 37-45. M. Gimbutas, The Slavs, London, 1971, 109-124.
4. A. Rambaud, Hellenes et Bulgares. La guerre des races au dixième siècle, Etudes sur l'histoire byzantine, Paris, 1912, 257-317. M. Gimbutas, op. cit. 108-9.

records. Around Thessalonikè there were the Sagoudatai, Drougoubitai, Verzitai and Rychinoi, who tried in vain to capture the city. In Thessaly the Velegetzites had prosperous farms. [1] On the Taygetos mountain range in Southern Peloponnesos the Meliggoi and Ezeritai survived as a Slav enclave long after the rest of the Slavs were byzantinised. Although the origin of these two names is still disputed, the experts agree that they must be of Slav derivation. [2] It has been suggested that the Ezeritai came from Ezeros, a village in Thessaly, and this in turn may be a name connected with ozero, meaning lake, marsh or bog. Somewhere in Central Greece, in an unidentified region called Velzetai, Slavs settled. Their leader, Akamir, was envolved in a plot against the Empress Irene in 799, which was quickly suppressed. [3]

Apart from these few names, there is no surviving evidence of Slav settlements in Central Greece. There are no literary sources, no monuments, no inscriptions or coins which might help to identify their characteristics. The Slav tribes settled in Greece appear to have been farmers rather than city dwellers; they avoided the fortified towns and built in wood. Their social organisation was probably tribal; they had not developed political leadership, and they made no attempt to make contact with Byzantine authorities. [4] From the fact that Slavs raided the islands of the Aegean, and even sailed to Crete in their monoxylai in the early seventh century, it is clear that they were skilled boat-builders and intrepid

1. A. Tougard, op. cit. 118, 166; Miracula Sancti Demetrii, col. 1325.
2. DAI I, 233-5 and 2, 186. D. Georgakas, Medieval names, Melingi and Ezeritai, of Slavic groups in the Peloponnesus, BZ XLIII, 1950, 301-333; H. Gregoire, B XXI, 1951, 247-50 (review note).
3. The Velezetai who settled on the Gulf of Pagasia, may perhaps have given their name to Velzetia. On the revolt of Akamir, see Theophanès 474.
4. An increasing body of archaeological evidence about the Slavs is gradually being published. M. Gimbutas, op. cit. has collected this and has drawn attention to little known excavations at Sparta, Olympia and Volos, 112, 114. She has devoted an interesting chapter to the social structure of the Slavs, ibid. 133-150.

sailors.[1] They probably lived by agriculture, hunting and fishing, bartering and exchanging goods with other Slavs and with the Greeks. During one seventh century siege of Thessalonikè, the inhabitants sent representatives to Thessaly where they bought corn from the Velegetzites.[2] So some sort of modus vivendi was established between the indigenous population and the newcomers.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that the Greeks survived the Slav incursions and came to terms with the barbarians. Obviously there was severe disruption of provincial life, but once the Slavs had made their settlements they seem to have been relatively peaceful. In the 580s Attika appears to have been threatened. Coin hoards were buried as people fled. But there is no evidence that Athens was ever captured by the Slavs.[3] Coin finds from the two Byzantine sites, the Agora at Athens, and the whole city of Corinth, show a sharp drop between the reign of Constans II and that of Theophilos, i. e. 668-829.[4] Coin evidence is capricious, but we can suggest that after the visit of Constans II to Athens in 662/3, very little money was spent in Central Greece.[5] No imperial troops were paid, no building was commissioned, no officials were rewarded for public service - three activities which normally brought gold into the province.

1. J. Land, Anecdota Syriaca, 1, 1862, 115; Tougard, op. cit. 118.
2. A. Tougard, op. cit. 166.
3. D. Metcalf, The Slavonic threat to Greece, c. 580; some evidence from Athens, Hesperia, XXXI, 1962, 134-52; ibid. The Aegean coastlands under threat. Some coins and coin hoards from the reign of Heraclius, BSA LVII, 1962, 14-24; S. Vryonis, An Attic Hoard in the Thomas Whittmore Collection and the Numismatic evidence for the Urban History of Byzantium, ZRVI VIII, i, 1963 = Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky, I, 291-30(
4. The coin evidence is tabulated by A. Bon, Le Péloponnèse Byzantin, 53. See also, P. Charanis, The significance of coins as evidence for Athens and Corinth in the seventh and eighth centuries, Historia, IV, 1955, 163-72.
5. Kedrènos, I, 762-3.

But this does not mean that city life and economy declined totally. There was older coinage in circulation and articles could always be bartered. Economic contacts with Constantinople were cut by the Slav settlements but the local economy probably continued as before.

It seems unlikely that either Athens or Corinth was ever occupied by the Slav invaders for any length of time. The capture of Corinth's fortress, Acrocorinth, was postulated after the discovery of 'Bulgar buckles' on the site.[1] This event has been dated to the years 587/8 and 641/2, but both suggestions are somewhat vitiated by the inconclusive identification of the buckles as 'Bulgar'.[2] The continued activity of bishops both of Corinth, the capital of Achaia, and of Athens is a clearer guide to the unrecorded period of the invasions. The whole Prefecture of Illyricum was under the authority of the Pope, who corresponded with many bishops in Central Greece and Illyricum.[3] At the sixth Oecumenical Council of the Church held in Constantinople under Justinian II in 680, representatives from Corinth, Athens and Argos attended.[4] Between 693 and 841 six bishops are known to have administered the see of Athens,[5] and from the late eighth

1. K. Setton, The Bulgars in the Balkans, Spec. XXV, 1950, 502-543, dated the event to 641/2; P. Charanis, On the capture of Corinth by the Onogurs and its recapture by the Byzantines, Spec. XXVII, 1952, 343-350 suggested a date between 578 and 582. Later Setton changed his mind; The Emperor Constans II and the capture of Corinth by the Onogur Bulgars, Spec. XXVII, 1952, 351-362, but all of the dates proposed are pure speculation.
2. G. Davidson, The Avar Invasion of Corinth, Hesperia, VI, 1937, 227-240, described the Corinth finds as typical of Avar burial graves in Hungary. She associated the buckles, spear points, ornaments and chain with a military cemetery built at the time of one of the many Avar/Slav invasions of Central Greece in the late sixth century. J. Werner has recently shown that these buckles are definitely Slavic, see Neues zur Frage der slawischen Bügelfibeln aus südosteuropaischen Landern, Germania, XXXVIII, 1960, 114-20.
3. P. Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Berlin 1851, 94, 99, 102, 115, 116.
4. Mansi, XI, 672, 673, 689.
5. D. Zakythinos, La Grande Brèche dans la tradition historique de l'Hellénisme du 7e au 9e siècle, Charistèrion eis Orlandon, III, 303.

century onwards many new sees indicate a revival of christian faith in an area dominated by Slavs. [1]

The visit of Constans II to Athens in 662/3 was an important event for the area. The fact that the Emperor chose to take his army via the East coast of Greece, wintering in Athens, and then proceeding by Patras to Southern Italy and Rome, means that the Western section of the Via Egnatia was already out of imperial control. [2] But it also suggests that the route from Thessalonikè to Athens through Thessaly was still open and safe. The Slav occupation of Thessaly had probably taken place and the new inhabitants were already engaged in peaceful agricultural pursuits. The journeys of Pope Martin I in the late seventh century and of Pope Constantine I in the early eighth century confirm this impression. [3] Both called at various islands in the Aegean, which had also been effected by Slav activity, and in every case were received by Greek-speaking christians. Constantine I was met by a Byzantine official, the stratègos of the Karabisianoi at Keos; he was probably in charge of the naval forces in the Aegean. [4]

These indications do not give us a well-defined picture of the Slav

1. For example, by 787 there were bishops of Aigina, Kephalonia, Monembasia, Skopelos, Porthmos and Ôreos (on the island of Euboia); by 869, Zetouni and Pharsalon; and by 879, Demetrias, Ezeros and Neai Patrai. The existence of these sees is recorded in Church Council records, but of course it is possible that the bishops of Greece were not always able to make the journey to Constantinople for the occasion, and therefore their existence passed unnoticed.
2. Kedrènos, I, 762-3; Theophanès, 348.
3. Miracula Sancti Demetrii, col. 1325. P. Peeters, Analecta Bollandiana, LI, 1933, 225; Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne and C. Vogel, 3 vols. Rome, 1886-1957, I, 390; III, 99. The devastation of the Aegean islands had obviously not caused such movement of population as on the mainland. Perhaps the Slavs did not settle on any of the islands.
4. On the Karabisianoi, see H. Antoniades-Bibicou, A propos de la premièr mention d'un stratège des Caravisiens, BS XXVII, 1966, 71-91; and A propos du thème des Caravisiens, Histoire Maritime, 63-98. P. Charanis, Observations on the history of Greece in the Middle Ages, Balkan Studies, 11, 1970, 1-34, esp. 6-11, believes that the Karabisianoi constituted a thema in the full administrative and military sense of the term.

occupation, but from them it is possible to suggest that it had two aspects. Firstly, in some areas the Slavs peacefully got on with their farming and avoided contact with the Greeks. Secondly, there were some tribes who attempted to capture Byzantine towns and who were prepared to attack Greek forces. The latter lived in those Sklaviniai against which Constans II, Justinian II and later the general Stavrakios campaigned.[1] We know very little about them, except that they were eventually defeated and absorbed into the Byzantine Empire. Of the former, though, we can build up a hypothetical image from two later texts. These are the account of the Slav revolt against Patras in 805 written in the tenth century by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos,[2] and John Kameniatès' description of the Slavs in Thessaly, which occurs in his account of the sack of Thessalonikè by the Arabs in 904.[3] Although the first text is the story of an attack by Slavs, and so should refer only to those warlike Slav tribes who were always besieging towns, it also gives an insight into how the Slavs lived. Around Patras, says the Emperor, the Slavs lived among the Greeks. The first indication that the Slavs were going to attack was their threat to their Greek neighbours. After the houses of the Greek farmers they went on to the inhabitants of Patras, who were protected by the city walls, and so the siege began.[4] The Greeks who lived outside the city on their farms among

1. The attempt to locate these Sklaviniai in particular regions is generally fruitless; the name designates Slav settlements in most parts of the Balkan peninsula, and the few that are identified by Byzantine campaigns are not particularly important. What is interesting about the Sklaviniai is that Byzantine forces had to subdue those that lay between the capital and important cities in the Balkans. The reconquest proceeded from Constantinople to Thessalonike, to free the eastern section of the Via Egnatia; then on down the coast of Thessaly and Ellas to Thebes and Corinth, centre of communications in Central Greece. The major routes had to be secured before imperial troops could venture far into Peloponnesos, therefore Sklaviniai which threatened this military network were the object of campaigns.
2. DAI I, 228-232 (chapter 49); II, 182-5.
3. Kameniatès, 496.
4. On the siege of Patras, see particularly, DAI II, 182-5.

the Slavs are the most telling aspect of this account. Clearly, if they could lead normal farming lives some degree of security must have prevailed. There must have been some agreement between the Slavs and Greeks.

This is borne out by Kameniatès, writing about the situation prevailing in Northern Thessaly at the end of the ninth century, and his evidence has the greater significance for being contemporaneous with events described. Admittedly, he lived in the period of reconquest, when Byzantine authority had been reimposed in parts of the Balkan peninsula, but what he says about the Slavs suggests that there had not been much change in their way of life for many years. His most interesting observation concerns the area around Berroia, which was near the Slav tribes of Sagoudatoi and Drougoubitai. "There is a great plain here, he says, and several mixed villages, some of which pay their taxes in the city, while others bordering on the Slav tribes, which are not far away, bring in their taxes .... it is a fact that they have been thrown together with those in Thessaly a great deal, and after being mixed up with the Slavs in commercial dealings, they get on well together... He goes on to describe the Slavs and how they live. "They share among each other the necessities of life, communally, preserving a marvellous and profound peace in those areas". [1] They come into the city, Thessalonikè, he continues, with the fish they catch in the rivers and the sea and make a big profit. This seems to illustrate clearly the adaptation of both Slav and Greek inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula to the situation created by the invasions. Gradually the Slavs settled down beside Greek farmers who had

1. Kameniatès, 496. He also describes how the Slavs become Christian and co-operate with the people of Thessalonikè, op. cit. 499-501.

returned to their lands, or moved on to new areas during the turbulent period.[1] Mixed villages developed; this must mean a mixture of Slav and Greek, for Kameniatès tells how the Greeks became accustomed to the Slav tribes through commercial transactions. Further away, separate Slav settlements existed, and there the Slavs lived peacefully, sharing what they had among the tribe. This seems to correspond perfectly to what little we know about the Slavs, and the reference to fishing for profit illustrates the gradual transformation of agricultural pursuits into marketing activity. In this sort of way the Slav population was slowly accomodated into the Byzantine organisation of towns, markets and taxes.

Byzantine Reconquest.

Because of Persian and later Arab pressure in the Eastern part of the Empire, Byzantine Emperors made no systematic attempt to regain the Balkan provinces until the creation of the 'thema' administration in the late seventh century.[2] Nonetheless, the campaign of Justinian II against the Sklaviniai in Thrace and Makedonia was an important step. The Emperor

1. Unfortunately there is no direct evidence of the break-up of old estates which must have taken place during the Slav incursions. It is very likely that from the seventh century onwards ownership of land depended more on continuous occupation and cultivation than on legal claims. Greek peasants must have returned to till abandoned land, or settled on previously uncultivated land, forest and mountainous territory, thus escaping the strict obligations to landlords enforced by Justinianic law. This previous relationship between landowner and labourer must have been severely disrupted by the disorders, see P. Lemerle, Invasions et Migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au VIIIe siècle, RH CCXI, 1954, 265-308.
2. The campaigns of Constans II, however, took Byzantine troops into the regions of the Sklaviniai in 657/8 and in 662/3, see Theophanès, 347.

had great difficulty in getting through to Thessalonikè, and on his arrival in 688, the city fêted him as a hero.[1] The army spent several months there before returning to the capital. Despite neglect and no imperial assistance, Thessalonikè managed to survive all attacks and became a most important centre for the Byzantine reconquest. Control over the peninsula was gradually re-established as Constantinople sent troops, governors and officials to the troubled areas. The fortified cities such as Patras, Larissa, Athens and Pharsala served as bases from which the pacification could be planned. The 'thema' organisation required a total survey of the population for tax purposes, land registration, military service, castle and road upkeep, postal services, transport and all forms of communication. The date when this organisation became effective throughout the peninsula is much disputed; even for areas where the presence of 'thema' officials is testified there is still debate.[2] So it is necessary to make a separate analysis of the 'themata' in the Balkans.

The system of 'thema' administration, which concentrated both civil and military authority in a very large geographical area in the hands of one governor, the stratègos, had proved successful in the Eastern part of the Empire against Arab attacks in the seventh century.[3] It provided troops in

1. Theophanès, 364.
2. Some historians take the mention of Leontios, stratègos of Ellas, at some time before 695, as indicative of the existence of the thema at this date. Others cautiously place the full thema administration at about 840. See below.
3. It is not necessary here to go into the question of the genesis of themata, as historians are generally agreed that by 687, the date of Justinian II's letter to Pope John V, the four eastern themes mentioned were in full working order: - Opsikion, Anatolikon, Armeniakon and Karabisianoi, see Mansi, XI, 737. The only thema in European Byzantium was that of Thrace; there is no mention of Ellas. (H. Antoniades-Bibicou, Histoire Maritime, 68-70, suggests the correction of Thrace into Thrakèsion, the fourth of the Asian themata, excluding the naval force of Karabisianoi. She also argues against the existence of the Karabisianoi as a thema, and corrects the term to Calarisiani. But these well-founded corrections do not change the basic agreement on 687 as the date by which the new system was functioning in all aspects.)

each 'thema', who constituted an immediate and effective defence for that area. The administrative machinery dealing with all aspects of civil government probably took longer to set up than the military as it depended on accurate measurement of land and recording of the population.[1] We have no complete record of how this was done or how long it took, and in general historians have taken the first mention of a thema official, often the stratègos, to indicate the existence of the thema. This criterion is not very satisfactory. It is often used to prove the early creation of a particular thema, without considering all the historical evidence.[2] When the question of dating thema organisations is raised, two dates are necessary; first, when the thema is mentioned in the sources, and second, when its full administrative apparatus was functioning. The difference between the two may often indicate a period when the thema was partially in existence, and the second date may often be the more useful.

For the thema of Ellas, this process of gradual establishment is quite clear. Certainly, Ellas was the first thema planned for the Balkan peninsula. Before 695 Leontios, previously stratègos of the Anatolikoi (troops of the Anatolikon thema), was sent as stratègos of the Elladikoi (troops of the Ellas thema).[3] No other stratègos can be securely dated until Leôn Kotzès

1. H. Antoniades-Bibicou, op. cit. 47-61, esp. 60, illustrates this problem particularly well.
2. W. E. Kaegi Jr. who has directed so much valuable research to substantiate the claims for a Heraclian origin of the theme-system, has also felt the need to establish a better criterion, see Al-Baladhuri and the Armeniak theme, B XXXVIII, 1968, 273-7. But P. Charanis, so correctly careful over many thorny problems, still uses the odd mention of thema officials uncritically, see Observations on the History of Greece in the Middle Ages, Balkan Studies, 11, 1970, 6.
3. Theophanès, 368. Nikèphoros, 38. The identification of Elladikoi as theme troops of Ellas by analogy with Anatolikoi or Armeniakoi is disputed, see P. Charanis, The term Helladikoi in byzantine texts of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, EEBS XXIII, 1953 = Kanískion Phaidoni Koukoulè, 615-20.

in 848, although two are known from seals dated to the Iconoclast period, that is between 730 and 842.[1] In 727, however, Agallianos was tourmarchès of the Elladikoi who set sail for Constantinople with the aim of removing the iconoclast Emperor Leo III and installing their own candidate.[2] It is doubtful whether Agallianos was tourmarchès of the army. Probably he was a naval officer, responsible for part of the Aegean fleet.[3] This does not mean that the full thema administration was functioning in Ellas in 727. For that we need proof that officials were responsible for all aspects of civil administration, for example, that taxes were being collected. The first indication of the team of officials concerned with this is the seal of Nikèphoros, "Basilikos spatharios kai prôtonotarios", which is dated to the eighth or ninth century.[4] Unfortunately this evidence is not more closely dated. Similarly, seals of the "basilikoi kommerkiarioi", officials responsible for the collection of customs and excise dues at important trading stations have been found from the eighth century onwards. In the absence of documentary evidence, these are the only records of thema administration.[5]

1. The known seals of stratègoi of Ellas have been collected by A. Pertusi, De Them. 171. The governorship of Leôn Kotzès is recorded in an inscription published by A. Orlandos, Une inscription inédite du Parthénon, BCH LXX, 1946, 418-27, and commented on by D. Zakythinos, Une inscription byzantine du Parthénon et les institutions provinciales de l'Empire, HC II, 1948, 198-206. A. Bon, op. cit. 93 confirms conclusively that Leôn Kotzès died in 848.
2. Theophanès, 405; Nikèphoros, 58.
3. H. Ahrweiler, La Mer, 42-4, 83-4.
4. Sigillographie, 168.
5. The kommerkiarioi do not necessarily indicate the existence of a thema of which they were functionaries, see H. Antoniades-Bibicou, op. cit. 52. If the new thema had a distinctly new name, such as Opsikion, the evidence of these seals can be most useful, but with a geographical term like Ellas, it is not definite, see idem. Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance, Paris, 1963, 207-9.

But the historical context of thema development is very helpful here. In 765/6 Constantine V ordered 500 skilled craftsmen from Ellas and the Aegean islands to move to Constantinople, recently ravaged by plague.[1] Ten years prevoiusly Ellas and the katôtika mepè had furnished population for the capital, and as a result more Slavs had moved into Central and Southern Greece.[2] The enforced migration of people from Greece to the capital, like many imperial attempts to repopulate abandoned areas, could have been more like a large-scale kidnapping operation than a controlled and selected emigration. The presence of a few soldiers and an official would have been adequate to persuade people to move. Whereas the later order could only have been carried out with some degree of imperial control over Ellas and the islands. The Emperor wanted 500 ceramic workers,and they were found. It certainly would be possible to find such craftsmen by sending a small imperial delegation to the area, but as the whole point of thema organisation was that particular skills and crafts were recorded along with every other aspect of the place, it seems more likely that Constantine ordered 500 ceramic workers to be found in Ellas and the islands because he knew from the administration that they could be provided. Contact between the capital and these parts of Greece was obviously effective by 765/6.[3]

Five or six years after this event, Irene, a beautiful young girl of the Sarandapèchys family, was sent from Athens to marry the son of Constantine V, the future Emperor Leo IV.[4] She retained a particular affection for her

1. Theophanès, 440.
2. Ibid. 429; De Them. 91.
3. P. Charanis, op. cit. 22. But the author takes this contact to be of an official kind, that is, of thema organisation.
4. Theophanès, 444.

home town, arranging for it to become a metropolitan see,[1] and her family were of course favoured with imperial appointments.[2] She must have known that Central Greece was a safe place to send dangerous political rivals, for she used it as a place of exile in 790 and 792.[3] This fact reflects a definite degree of imperial control, as treatment of political prisoners was a very important matter in the Byzantine Empire. In 783 Irene sent her general Staurakios to the Sklaviniai areas of the Balkan peninsula, which he reduced to submission. He also made a raid into Peloponnesos and took many prisoners and much booty, so there were still hostile Slavs in the south at this time.[4] The campaign was fêted with a ceremonial triumph at Constantinople and the following year the Empress left the capital and proceeded as far as Berroia to observe the results of pacification.[5] It is probably from this time that Ellas and Peloponnesos were given thema administration. The Empress Irene and her successor, Nikèphoros I, were both responsible for much improvement in Balkan conditions. Under Nikèphoros, Leôn Sklèros was one, but not the first of the stratègoi of Peloponnesos.[6] Patras was saved from siege, was rebuilt and became a metropolitan see. The city of Lakedaimonia and its churches were repaired and it became a bishopric.[7] Further christian

1. This promotion took place before the death of Patriarch Tarasios, 806, though by then Irene was of course dead, see V. Laurent, L'Eréction de la Métropole d'Athènes et le statut ecclésiastique de l'Illyricum au VIIIe siècle, EB I, 1943, 58-78.
2. Theophanès, 473.
3. Ibid. 465.
4. Ibid. 456-7.
5. Ibid. 458.
6. DAI I, 228-232; II, 182-3, 185; Chronique de Monemvasie, 10.
7. Chronique de Monemvasie, 10.

population from many different themata of the Empire was moved into Greece to support the programme of 'byzantinisation' and hellenisation. [1]

So by 811 the themata administration was fully operational in Ellas, which included the province of Thessaly; Peloponnesos; the Aegean; and had been partially established in Kephalonia, Zakynthos, Dyrrachion and Thessalonikè. [2] This did not remove the threat of revolt. There were several Slav rebellions in the Balkans during the ninth and tenth centuries, and the region was probably not fully incorporated into the Empire until after the conquests of Basil II (1018). [3] The Slavs in Western Makedonia and Thrace followed the Bulgar struggle for independence, which disrupted administration in Thessaly throughout the tenth century. The machinery, however, had been set up and could be strengthened when necessary. The Balkan peninsula was under Byzantine authority again.

At about the same time as the effective reconquest, the Balkan coastlands were threatened by a new danger. After their capture of Crete in 827, Arab pirates became a real menace to the Aegean. [4] They set out from Crete to pillage the islands and littoral, forcing the population to flee from Aigina in 829. [5] Later, under the Emir of Tarsos, they attacked the

1. Ibid. 10; Theophanès, 486-7.
2. Officials of Kephalonia, Zakynthos, Dyrrachion and Thessalonikè are not mentioned frequently until the middle of the ninth century, and without further evidence it would be unwise to attribute the creation of fully-functional thema organisation to the reign of Nikephoros. But S. Kyriakidès, Byzantinai Meletai, 403-5, dates the creation of the thema Thessalonikès to 796-828.
3. On the subsequent Slav revolts, see DAI I, 232-4; II, 182-7; R. J. H. Jenkins, The Date of the Slav revolt in Peloponnese under Romanos I, Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend Jr, Princeton, 1955, 204-211.
4. The exact date of the establishment of Arab authority in Crete is not known. Raids became more common under Michael I (820-29) especially after 827, Theophanès continued, 73-78. See the recent survey by H. Ahrweiler, La Mer, 38-9.
5. Life of Holy Luke, ed. G. Kremos, Phôkika, I, 1874, 132.

mainland. In the reign of Basil I (867-886), the naval commander Oiniatès successfully defended Euboia against such an attack, which threatened the whole of Attika and Boiotia. [1] The prosperous city of Demetrias on the Gulf of Volos in Thessaly was captured and occupied by the Arabs from 897 to 902. [2] During that period the Sporades and the coast of Thessaly must have been particularly vulnerable. In 904 Thessalonikè, which had resisted so many Slav sieges, fell to the Arabs. [3]

In addition to this danger, the Bulgars began to harass the population of Central Greece in the early tenth century. Despite their conversion to christianity and their alliance with the Byzantines, the Bulgars cherished dreams of independence and revenge. In 917/8 Tsar Symeôn raided as far south as the Isthmus of Corinth; it may be on this occasion that he captured a Greek city, but it is not identified. [4] An invasion of Tourkoi, who may well be Bulgars, forced Holy Luke to move from his retreat in 943. [5] By the 980s Tsar Samuel was leading regular raiding parties into Thessaly and Ellas. His activities were checked by the strategy of Kekaumenos, stratègos at Larissa for three years. But then Kekaumenos was recalled by the Emperor and was replaced by an incompetent general who failed to defend the city. The entire population was taken off into slavery, and its holy relics were removed. One family alone seems to have escaped this disaster - the family of Nikoulitzas, relatives of Kekaumenos, who obviously held an important social position in the area. [6] One Nikoulitzas

1. Kedrènos, II, 225-6.
2. Theophanès continued, 364; Kameniatès, 506; H. Grégoire, La Vie de Saint Blaise d'Amorium, B VI, 1929, 391-414; K. Setton, On the raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the ninth and tenth centuries and their alleged occupation of Athens, AJA, LVIII, 1954, 311-8.
3. Kameniatès, 519-531.
4. Kekaumenos, 32-3; Chronicle of Galaxeidiou, 192-5; A. Vasiliev, The "Life" of S. Peter of Argos, and its historical significance, Traditio, V, 1947, 183-7.
5. Life of Holy Luke, op. cit. 158.
6. Kekaumenos, 65-6.

was commander of the Exkoubitoi in Ellas, and later was put in charge of the Vlachs, transhumant peasants of Thessaly. [1]

Throughout the eleventh century Arab and Bulgar raids continued though less severely. In 1040 Delianos, a Bulgar chief, managed to involve some of the inhabitants of Central Greece in a revolt, [2] but a much more serious one occurred in 1066, when the whole population, including Vlachs, refused to comply with the increased taxation imposed by Constantine X. The whole country rose and elected as its leader another member of the Nikoulitzas family, who tried to persuade the Emperor to ease the new burden. When the rebels received an assurance from the Emperor that the new tax would be abolished, Nikoulitzas went to the capital with leaders of the Vlachs and of the people of Larissa, and the revolt was forgotten. [3]

In the 1080s Thessaly was again threatened, this time by Norman adventurers from Southern Italy who landed at Dyrrachion in a serious attempt to invade the Empire. Larissa was again the centre of operations, and the successful defence by Leôn Kephalas against Bohemond assisted the Byzantine campaign. Alexios Komnènos himself commanded the imperial forces who passed by Vlach villages and the estates of the Nikoulitzas family on the way to Dyrrachion. [4] Western enemies were to become the chief danger to Greece in the twelfth century. The Normans continued to make grandiose schemes against the Empire, one of which was very nearly successful in 1185. They captured and sacked Thessalonikè

1. Ibid. 96. Nikoulitzas was domestikos tôn Exkoubitôn Ellados, and later held the archèn tôn Blachôn Ellados.
2. Kedrènos II, 527-31. The whole theme of Nikopolis, except its capital, Naupaktos, went over to Delianos and the rebels. The inhabitants of Nikopolis were particularly outraged at the demands of the Orphanotrophos, John, brother of Michael IV, which were put into practice by the praktôr of the theme, Iôannès Kontzomytès. Taxation in kind (wheat, millet and wine) had been commuted to payment in money, presumably at high rates, and the taxpayers turned on the local agent.
3. Kekaumenos, 66-73.
4. Alexiade, II, 24

and approached the capital before turning home.[1] But their expedition of 1147 was much more harmful to Central Greece. On this occasion the Normans attacked Corinth, the coast of Euboia and Thebes, and removed from Greece some of the finest weavers of silk. The two cities were centres of dyeing, spinning and other industries associated with the manufacture of cloth. As the production of silk was an imperial monopoly which gave the Byzantines great prestige in Europe, the loss of workers involved in this particular trade was a disaster.[2]

Less of a disaster but eventually just as ruinous was the activity of Italian merchants in Central Greece. From the twelfth century onwards their presence in every important port and market centre was conspicuous. The Venetians were prominent in the role of exporters, but they could also behave as pirates. Nor was their naval strength to be ignored; they could easily take reprisals, as for instance in 1125, when Modon was sacked and dismantled, and the Aegean islands attacked.[3] Genoese and Pisan merchants and pirates also participated in commercial and military activities, usually in alliance with the Byzantines but not always to the advantage of the population of Central Greece.

Italian pirates, however, did not have such a decisive effect in Central Greece as the earlier Slav, Bulgar and Arab incursions. These were particularly important in that they caused mobility of population on a large scale. Like the family of Osios Loukas, who were forced to leave Aigina, then Kastorion near Delphi, and twice more, the inhabitants often had to abandon their farms and lands.[4] In this sort of insecurity, there could be

1. Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica, 66-158.
2. N. Ch. 99-101.
3. Kinnamos, 281.
4. Life of Holy Luke, op. cit. 132, 143, 148, 151 and many other instances of population movement.

no permanent agricultural settlement, no organised cultivation of long-term crops, such as the olive, and no building up of livestock. Although walled towns represented safe and fixed markets, the population could not use them as commercial centres. No industrial or large-scale agricultural development could take place. This process was retarded until the eleventh century, and even then the pillaging of Normans and Italians damaged trade. The coastal population continued to flee; religious communities were removed from open sites to inland valleys better protected.[1] The raids hampered the establishment of imperial authority and prevented the growth of industrial production. This meant that those in power at Constantinople dismissed Central Greece as an unprofitable area, with nothing to offer the cultured population of the capital, and consequently little attention was given to the defence of the area. So the pirate activities continued. It was a vicious circle.

The role of the Church in the reconquest.

It was largely due to the Church that the mountainous and inaccessible parts of Greece were regained for the Empire. On the coasts episcopal sees, for example, Athens, Corinth, Larissa, Demetrias and Patras, had always been important cities, and maintained their position through the period of invasions.[2] But inland where the Slavs tended to dominate, it

1. The insecurity caused by pirates is illustrated many times by Michaèl Chôniatès, Archbishop of Athens from 1182 until the arrival of the crusaders in 1205, see for example M. Ch. II, 68, where he reports the wounding of his nephew by armed pirates. An act of 1143 records the necessity of removing a nunnery from the coast to an interior site, MM V, 178-83.
2. At the Council of 531, bishops from Corinth, Demetrias, Larissa and Patras represented the episcopacy of Greece, see Mansi, VIII, 739-84. Thebes, Lamia, Megara, Chalkis, Karystos, Koroneia and Naupaktos were relatively important centres and the sites of bishoprics before the invasions . But for a period of over 200 years nothing is known of these sees, and in some cases towns never regained episcopal status, for example, Thespies, Elatea, Tanagra and Oponte.

was the courageous missionary activity and the prolific building of churches and monasteries that restored Byzantine authority. In the thema of Ellas the construction of the great monastic church at Skripou in 873/4 was a unique event. This large domed church standing on the borders of Boiotia and Phokis, not far from Lamia, was a solitary but strong centre of christian faith throughout the tenth century. [1] Inscriptions from Thebes, Athens and Skyros also record the building of churches in this century. [2] The Life of S. Nikon, an Armenian monk who evangelised Crete after its recapture in 961, records his missionary work in Peloponnesos, at Amyklaion and Lakedaimonia, where he built several churches. [3]

Much of this work may have been unofficial. Holy men and hermits were often independent of church authorities. But at the same time the episcopal hierarchy was expanding its activities, in order to convert and look after the Slav population. In Thessaly a large number of new sees were created in the interior, Stagoi, Loidorikion, Ezeros and Trikkis among them. [4] The metropolitan see of Neai Patrai acquired suffragan bishoprics, new

1. A. H. S. Megaw, The Skripou screen, BSA, 61, 1966, 1-32; CIG IV, no. 8685.
2. CIG IV, no. 8686, (Thebes) ; no. 8660 (Athens); Chatzalabos and I. Bouras, Catalogue of Byzantine Churches, Architectural Design, XLIII, 1972, no. 288 (church at Episcopi, Skyros, dated 895 by an inscription) cf. Ateses, EEBS, XV, 1939, 103-4.
3. Life of Saint Nikon, ed. S. Lampros, NE III, 1906, 129-224. The Latin version of this life published by E. Martene and U. Durand, Veterum scriptorum. . . . amplissima collectio, VI, Paris, 1729, 838-886, contains incorrect translations of Greek terms which are misleading. See also the recent survey of church building in Manè, D. Bagiakakos, Manè (Mesa Manè), Athens, 1968.
4. Gelzer, Notitiae, no. 2, 557, dated to the end of the ninth century, also records the existence of sees at Pharsala, Zetouni (ancient Lamia), Thaumakos later known as Domokos, Echnios and Kolydros. This development is paralleled in the diocese of Naupaktos, ibid. 557, and Dyrrachion, ibid. 558.

bishoprics appeared on the islands and even in the inland parts of Peloponnesos christianity developed. [1] The name of Nikèphoros I is especially connected with the conversion of the Slavs, because of his reconstruction of Patras and Lakedaimonia. [2] He also ordered the settlement of christians from other parts of the Empire, both in the Sklaviniai and in Peloponnesos. [3] Finally, he sent messages to the Greeks who had fled to Italy, Sicily and the islands over 200 years previously, telling them to return to their homes. Athanasios, future bishop of Methônè, was brought back to Patras in about 826 from Catania. Later he evangelised the area of Messenia in Southern Peloponnesos. [4] After a severe Bulgar raid in Central Greece churches were rebuilt and reconsecrated by a distinguished visitor, Arethas, the scholar and metropolitan of Kaisareia. [5]

1. The suffragan bishopric of Marmaritzanon is attested as early as the ninth century, Gelzer, Notitiae, 559, and by the twelfth century Neai Patrai had two more, ibid. no. 5, 585-7. In Peloponnesos the sees of Bolaina, Zemaina and Maina, established by the ninth century, ibid. 556-7, and the churches at Demetsana, Kitta, Platsa, Skala, Geraki and Sparta, all dating from the tenth century, indicate the spread of christian faith and the growth of population and prosperity in those areas. By the time of the Photian Council of 879, island bishoprics included Kerkyra, Zakynthos, Euboia, Skopelos, Kephalonia, Leukas and Aigina, Mansi, XIII, 388, 392; XVII, 373-7.
2. DAI I, 228-232; II, 182-5; Chronique de Monemvasie, 10; P. Charanis, Nikephoros I, the savior of Greece from the Slavs (810), BM, I, 1946, 75-92.
3. Theophanès, 486-7; Chronique de Monemvasie, 10.
4. Mai IX, 31-50. See also an unpublished funeral oration for Athansios written by S. Peter of Argos; A. Vasiliev, The 'Life' of S. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance, Traditio, V, 1947, 188. This source indicates that Arab pressures on Sicily caused the return of Athanasios' family to Patras.
5. R. J. H. Jenkins and B. Laourdas, Eight letters of Arethas on the Fourth Marriage of Leo the Wise, Ellènika, XIV, 1956, 332, 335-6. (This study was reprinted in R. J. H. Jenkins, Studies on Byzantine History of the ninth and tenth centuries, London, 1970). Arethas reveals that he was sent to Ellas in the winter of 905/6 so that Leo could proceed with the baptism of his son, Constantine, the future Emperor Constantin VII. Arethas was implacably opposed to Leo's fourth marriage to Zoe which legitimated the young Porphyrogennetos.

Arethas would probably have found that the whole population was christian; numerous small chapels and monasteries bear witness to its devotion; and that there was no discrimination between people of Slav and Greek origin. Patriarch Niketas was a Slav.[1] The Emperor Romanos Lekapènos married his son Christopher to the daughter of an influential Slav, Nikètas Rendakios.[2] So the Slav population in Central Greece became Byzantine, the Greek-speaking, christian and loyal subjects of the Emperor.

The Twelfth Century Population.

By the twelfth century the majority of the inhabitants of Central Greece were Byzantine. There was a Jewish and Latin section in nearly every town. Vlachs lived in the mountains of Thessaly, and a few autonomous Slav tribes in Peloponnesos. But the mass of the population could be identified by their knowledge of Greek and christian faith.

The majority lived in the countryside, making a living from small-scale farming, or working on the lands of an absentee landlord. Many peasants still owned or rented their own stoichoi, strips of land, and kept their families on what they could produce. But some peasants clearly had no land of their own; they worked on large estates, chiefly monastic, and were probably paid in kind.[3] By the twelfth century there were several landowners in Central Greece, who employed labour. The Branas and Kantakouzènos families owned property in Peloponnesos; Irene Aggelè and the monasteries

1. Theophanès, 440. Nikètas I was Patriarch from 766-80.
2. Theophanès continued, 413; De Them. 91.
3. N. Svoronos, Cadastre de Thèbes, 141-4.

of Molineti and Pantokrator had estates.[1] Imperial lands, estates belonging to the Patriarchate and to local churches, as well as to local notables, all needed peasant labour to look after their property.[2] Whereas independent peasants were usually self-sufficient, not needing to buy or sell at the local market, those employed on large estates generally produced on a bigger scale and exported goods through the nearest port. The oil, cotton and other crops handled by Italian merchants probably came from these estates.

Those who lived in the towns generally engaged in some trade or craft. All basic necessities of life were produced in the main centres. Soap, candles, wool cloth, leather, knives and household furniture were readily available in Athens.[3] In Thebes and Corinth there was greater choice in the goods; silk, manufactured in Thebes, was sought after in other parts of the Empire; glass from Corinth was of a high quality.[4] A bishop in Thessaly appeared to know men who could build carts, for Michaèl Chôniatès asked him to send them to Athens.[5] Among the craftsmen of

1. TT I, 490-1. Unfortunately no records from the monasteries in Central Greece survive.
2. The Patriarch of Constantinople had lands on Aigina, from which the akrostichon tax was due, M. Ch. II, 73. The Church of Athens had considerable property not only in its own diocese but also in the other dioceses of Central Greece; M. Ch. II, 89, mentions the proasteion near Ôropos, and Innocent III lists 25 in Attika and 14 in Euboia as part of the land of the Church of Athens, PL 215, letter CCLVI col. 1559-62. In addition to the two monasteries mentioned in the Partitio regni graeci there were many monastic estates in Central Greece, which must have needed labour, for example, the monasteries of Kaisarianè, Osios Meletios and Agioi Omologètoi mentioned by Michaèl Chôniatès.
3. M. Ch. II, 137 cf. the general survey of archaeological finds in the medieval Agora, K. Setton, The Archeology of Medieval Athens, Essays in Medieval Life and Thought presented to A. Evans, New York, 227-58.
4. On silk, see N. Ch. 608-9; on glass, G. Davidson, A Medieval Glass Factory at Corinth, AJA XLIV, 1940, 287-324.
5. M. Ch. II, 69.

towns the Jews occupied a particular place as skilled dyers and finishers of cloth. [1]

Of course many town-dwellers were not involved in trade, but held positions in the imperial administration. The notable families of Central Greece supplied many bureaucrats for the thema hierarchy, as well as the local episcopate. Many of them owned houses and land around Thebes, but preferred to live in Chalkis or Athens. [2] The most influential families had moved from Greece to the capital where they served in the court and the Emperor's immediate entourage. Such were the Rendakios, Tornikès and Malakès extended family networks. But junior members and distant relatives remained in the provinces, filling less exalted posts.

Apart from the Byzantine population, the chief distinct groups in Greece consisted of Vlach peasants, the Jewish community and Westerners. There is no evidence that independent Slav tribes such as the Meliggoi and Ezeritai in Peloponnesos continued to exist to the twelfth century. By this time it seems that the Slavs had been completely hellenised and integrated into the imperial structure.

The Vlachs.

The Vlachs, in one way, held the same sort of position in Ellas, as the Maniots in Peloponnesos. Both groups, though quite distinct, probably developed from the indigenous Greek population that had been disturbed by the Slav invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries. The Vlachs had sought refuge in the mountainous areas of Thessaly, while the Maniots retreated to the almost impregnable peninsula. Whatever their origins

1. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10-11; J. Starr, The Epitaph of a Dyer in Corinth, BNJ XII, 1936, 42-9.
2. N. Svoronos, op. cit. 142.

in the twelfth century the Vlachs still kept apart from the rest of the population. [1]

They lived in the mountains and practised transhumance. According to Benjamin of Tudela they were extremely fierce, and used to rob and kill travellers who passed close to their haunts near Lamia. They also terrorised the Greeks and were "utterly lawless". [2] Their particular cheese and cloth was sought after and appreciated in Constantinople, but the cheese mentioned by Theodôros Prodromos came probably from Vlachs in Thrace or Makedonia, rather than Thessaly. [3] During the revolt of 1066 described by Kekaumenos, the Vlachs took a prominent role. He reports that the Vlachs were unwilling to continue with the revolt when it was pointed out that they would have to campaign in the summer. For "from the month of April to the month of September their families are in the highest mountains, in the mountains of Boulgaria". [4] A considerable number of Vlachs had houses in Larissa and obviously remained in Thessaly, for this discussion took place in June. But it shows that Vlach transhumance was a very real way of life, which probably did not change for centuries. [5] There is no reason to doubt that the twelfth century Vlachs lived as their ancestors had. Some of them had settled to permanent farming near Pharsala, [6] and some later offered their services to the

1. In the tenth century Constantine VII recorded that the Maniots accepted an archôn nominated by the stratègos and were perfectly submissive, DAI I, 236. The Vlachs of Thessaly were also under the authority of an archôn, but they were rebellious, Kekaumenos, 96.
2. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 11.
3. Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire, ed. D. Hesseling and H. Pernot, Amsterdam, 1910/ Wiesbaden 1968, III. 182; IV, 75.
4. Kekaumenos, 67-73.
5. Ibid. 68. The house of Beriboos, the Vlach, was used for a meeting. It seems that some of the Vlachs of Larissa sent their wives, children and family to the mountains with the flocks while they remained in the city.
6. Ibid. 69-70.

Athonite monasteries and were taken on as douloparoikoi, dependent peasants.[1] But most still led a nomadic life, uncontrolled by imperial authorities.[2]

In the tenth century one of the Thessalian family of Nikoulitzas was given the position of archôn tôn Vlachôn.[3] This post probably corresponds to the similar official archôn responsible for the Maniots in southern Peloponnesos. For a tribute of 400 nomismata the Maniots kept their own customs and had to bring military assistance to the governor when requested.[4] There is no evidence that the Vlachs paid a tribute, but their relationship to the Empire was clearly defined by Basil II after the subjection of Bulgaria. His sigillion of 1020 subordinated them to the stratègos' authority and stipulated that they were to pay the clerical tax (kanonikon) and loipoi apaitètai.[5] Basil's visit to Thessaly in 1018 would have given him direct experience of the Vlach population.[6] Later in the eleventh century Vlachs were recruited for imperial service, but on this occasion they appear to have come from mountainous areas in Thrace and Makedonia. Nikèphoros Melissènos was ordered to find extra forces, especially among the Bulgars and Vlachs, in the winter of 1090/1, to assist Alexios I's struggle against the Koumans. It is unlikely that the Thessalian Vlachs were involved.[7]

Despite Basil's sigillion the Vlach population of the Empire was difficult to control. Between about 1084 and 1104, 300 Vlach families settled on Mount Athos, wintering their flocks in the peninsula which

1. Meyer, Haupturkunden, 163.
2. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 11.
3. Kekaumenos, 96.
4. DAI I, 236.
5. H. Gelzer, Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistumerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche (part II), BZ II, 1893, 46.
6. Kedrènos, II, 475. On the way from Ochrid to Athens in 1018 Basil II passed by Stagoi, Thermopylae and Zetouni (Lamia) where the bones of the Bulgars slain by Nikèphoros Ouranos still lay on the banks of the Sperchios.
7. Alexiade, II, 134.

was exempt from imperial taxation. In this way they avoided the tax collectors and also made a good living; they supplied the monks with cheese, milk and eggs, and cultivated their lands, and paid no taxes.[1] Several Byzantine administrators attempted to reverse this situation but without success, until some anchorites and sterner ecclesiastical authorities discovered that Vlach women were also in the forbidden area. Vlach women dressed as men; in the nineteenth century this was still the case.[2] Still, females were strictly prohibited on Athos, and the Vlachs were ordered to leave. Alexios I subsequently ordered that Vlachs should pay the rural tithe (dekateia) as well as the other taxes. It is unlikely, however, that the Vlachs of Thessaly paid these taxes in the twelfth century. Benjamin of Tudela reported that "no man can go up and do battle against them and no king can rule over them".[3]

The Jews.

There had always been a considerable Jewish element in the population of Greece, and as early as the tenth century there is evidence of Jews engaged in finishing and dyeing of cloth.[4] This was their chief occupation in the twelfth century; the Jews monopolised the dyeing industry, and played a most important role in cloth manufacture.

The persecutions of the Egyptian Caliph al-Hakim, who ruled between 996 and 1021, forced many Jews living under Muslim authority to emigrate

1. Meyer, Haupturkunden, 166.
2. F. Pouqueville, Travels in the Morea, Albania and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, trans. A. Plumptre, London, 1813, 404-5.
3. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 11.
4. Life of Saint Nikon, ed. S. Lampros, NE III, 1906, 166.

to the Byzantine Empire, where a generally tolerant attitude prevailed. Jews were allowed to own land, to move freely round the Empire, to trade and to work with non-Jews in industries. They were not permitted to build synagogues or to ride on horseback, but on the other hand they were not persecuted for their beliefs and they might hold minor goverment positions. These conditions attracted many Jews into the Empire during the eleventh century, when economic recovery and industrial development provided them with employment. [1]

The production of cloth in Greece, which had been developing from the ninth century onwards, expanded with the renewal of political stability and increased prosperity, and probably with the arrival of skilled Jewish workers. [2] In Lakedaimonia during the second half of the tenth century the finishing and embroidering of cloth was an almost exclusively Jewish occupation. When Saint Nikon expelled the community in an attempt to end a plague in the city, Iôannès Aratos, one of the cloth merchants, refused to observe the Saint's injunction as he could not do without his Jewish workmen. For this he died. [3] In Greek centres of cloth production the Jews held a similar position. At Corinth and Thebes in particular their activity is well documented, not only in dyeing and cloth production, but also in glass blowing and the skilled weaving of silk. [4] Some were captured

1. A. Sharf, Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade, London, 1971, 108-114.
2. Theophanès continued, 226-8, 317-21; Kedrènos, II, 190-3, 236-7. See also S. Runciman, The widow Danielis, Etudes dédiés à la mémoire d'A. Andréadès, Athens, 1940, 425-31.
3. See page 68 note 4.
4. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10; J. Starr, op. cit. 44-5; G. Davidson, op. cit. 324, thinks that the development of glass manufacture at Corinth can be linked to the arrival of a large Jewish community in Central Greece following the persecutions of the Egyptian Caliph, al-Hakim. But Megaw has shown that this high-quality enamelled glass was being produced in many other Byzantine centres, and suggests that the Corinth glass was an indigenous product, see More Gilt and Enamelled Glass from Cyprus, Journal of Glass Studies, X, 1968, 88-104.

by the Normans in the raid of 1147 and were taken to Sicily where they were forced to establish silk factories. [1] Hebraic inscriptions at Corinth, Thebes, Chalkis and Livadia, record the existence of prosperous Jewish settlements, and apart from the incident at Lakedaimonia there is no indication of anti-semitic activity. [2]

This information about the Jews in Greece is enormously expanded and substantiated by the account of Benjamin of Tudela's travels in the Byzantine Empire in about 1168. This enterprising traveller set out from Spain to visit the East and spent several years going between one Jewish settlement and another. He was rarely on the roads under Byzantine control for more than two days without finding hospitality in a Jewish colony. As he did not always take the most direct route from one town to the next he recorded aspects of provincial life unknown from other sources. The names of certain towns, such as Jabustrisa and Crissa in Central Greece, the number of Jews in each settlement, their occupation and position in Byzantine society, give great value to his diary. [3]

From this account it is clear that the Jewish population in Greece was flourishing; it was chiefly urban and industrial. Except for the 500 families in Thessalonikè, the Jews were not oppressed by the imperial authorities or by the local population. Although Thessalonikè was " a very large city", the largest colony in Greece was at Thebes, where Benjamin met the most skilled makers of silk and purple cloth and great scholars in Talmudic law among the 2,000 Jews. There was about the

1. N. Ch. 99-101. On the treaty of 1159 governing the return of prisoners see ibid. 129-30; Annales Cavenses, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores III, 1939, 192.
2. J. Starr, op. cit. 44-9; N. Giannopoulos, Symbolai eis tèn istorian tôn Ioudikôn paroikiôn en tô anatolikè èpeirotikè Elladi, EEBS VII, 1930, 253-282 and X, 1933, 189-191.
3. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10.

same number in Constantinople. In the other Greek settlements he found 300 Jews at Corinth, 400 at the busy port of Almyros, 200 in Chalkis and 50 in both Patras and Sino-Potamo (Lamia). [1]

There was an agricultural colony of 200 at Crissa, perhaps the modern village of Krisa, near Delphoi, who lived apart from the Greeks and cultivated their own land. This is especially interesting in view of the predominantly textile occupations of most Byzantine Jews; it also constitutes a unique example of a purely Jewish village existing within the Empire, but separate from the local population. [2]

In addition to Benjamin's information about the Jewish communities, he recorded anything of interest in the areas he visited. Thus we learn that the wild and ungovernable Vlachs called the Jews their brethren and treated them better; "though they rob them, they refrain from killing them as they kill the Greeks". [3] This was because the Vlachs were not convinced Christians and had Jewish inclinations. It has been suggested that the Vlachs turned to an apparently similar monotheistic faith because they had been rejected by the local Christians. Possibly the two minorities in the region had decided to make common cause in case of persecution by the local authorities, but there is no clear evidence.

After this eye-witness account of about 1168, we have no direct evidence of the Jewish communities in Greece, but they must have continued to weave, dye and finish silk and less valued materials, contributing a vital section of the work force of Greek industry. By the end of the twelfth century Theban silks were renowned beyond the frontiers of the Empire, and were sought after at the annual fair of Saint Dèmètrios

1. Ibid. 10-11.
2. Ibid. 10.
3. Ibid. 11; A. Sharf, op. cit. 149-50.

at Thessalonikè.[1] Although the Jews obviously felt themselves to be quite distinct from their Greek neighbours, they had been integrated into the Byzantine political and economic system. In the commercial centres of Central Greece they formed separate communities of skilled craftsmen, without which the economic development of the area might have been severely retarded.

The Latins.

Like the Jews, the Latins who lived in Greece were primarily concerned with the mercantile life of market towns and ports. Throughout the Empire they were involved in the export trade and by the end of the twelfth century they almost monopolised it. But they also held important positions in Constantinople as ambassadors of the Emperor, advisers, translators and mercenary leaders. All Western Europeans, whether they came from Italian ports, parts of Southern Italy conquered by the Normans, France, Germany or Spain, were often called Latins by the Greeks. Their influence and wealth increased during the twelfth century especially in the reign of Manuel I, 1143-1180.

It was the military weakness of the Empire that permitted the Latins to establish a strong position in the markets of Byzantium. The original concession of such favourable trading rights was made by Alexios I Komnènos during the difficult war with Robert Guiscard, 1182-5.[2]

1. N. Ch. 608-9; Timarion, ed. C. Hase, Notes et extraits des manuscrits, IX, (2), 1813, 163-246; cf. H. Tozer, Byzantine Satire, JHS II, 1881, 233-70.
2. See E. Frances, Alexis Comnène et les privilèges octroyés à Venise, BS XXIX, 1968, 22, where a late 1084 date is suggested for this treaty. M. Martin, Venice and Byzantium before 1204 (unpublished M.A. thesis), has shown very convincingly that Spring 1085 is a more probable date. Cf. Dölger, Regesten no. 1081.

In return for much needed assistance of Venetian ships, the Republic's merchants were allowed to trade freely in all parts of the Empire except the Black Sea. During the course of the twelfth century privileges of this nature were granted to other Italian cities, Pisa and Genoa, so that by 1155 Italian traders paid only 4% of the tax on the transport and sale of goods, or none at all, while Greeks still paid the full 10%. [1] In this way the export of products from the Byzantine Empire became almost an Italian preserve.

At the same time dependence on Italian shipping increased. Despite efforts to reform the imperial navy, twelfth century Emperors still relied on the services of Italian fleets. [2] This enhanced the position of the Republics within the Empire. It also permitted them to take advantage of inadequate maritime defence of the Aegean, by plundering the islands and coastlands of Greece and Asia Minor. As this could be a lucrative and easy form of profit, many individual merchants took to systematic piracy. [3] Against this activity the Byzantines had no force other than the

1. The Pisan privileges were negotiated in 1111; Genoese merchants had to wait until 1155, and even then their presence in the Byzantine Empire was very insecure because other Italian merchants wished to exclude them, Dölger, Regesten, 1255; 1488; 1497-8; 1499.
2. H. Ahrweiler, La Mer, 230-3, on the failure of John II Komnènos to protect the Aegean without Venetian assistance. Similarly, the chrysobull of 1147 which extended Venetian trading rights to Crete and Cyprus, reveals Manuel's need of Venetian support against Norman fleets, ibid. 243-4. After the Norman siège of Constantinople in 1185 Isaac II Angelos formed an alliance with William II, which stipulated that the Sicilians should provide the Empire with a fleet, ibid. 287.
3. Pirates not only plundered the Byzantines, they also pillaged each other. For example, Venetian convoys would attack Norman ships, Lombardo and Rocca, Nuovi Documenti, 11; Genoese and Pisans attacked Venetians, Documenti, I, 417; and sometimes Greek sailors would successfully capture Italian pirate ships. The Sicilian boat carrying Louis VII back to the West was intercepted by Charoupès in 1147, Kinnamos, 87-88. Inter-republican rivalry was a marked feature of the twelfth century, and individuals who took to piracy rarely represented their own city.

ships of one of the Italian republics; for example, to put an end to the activity of a Genoese pirate, Gafforio, a Pisan fleet was employed.[1]

The strength of the Latins in the Byzantine Empire can be illustrated by the events of 1122-6, when John II Komnènos sought to make a firmer alliance with Pisa, and threatened not to renew the Venetian privileges. The Doge ordered a campaign against isolated Byzantine possessions; Kerkyra (Corfu) was captured, Rhodes sacked, Chios was held through the winter of 1124-5 , and the port of Methônè was attacked and its defences dismantled.[2] After this display of Venetian power, John II confirmed all the terms of the original treaty made between Byzantium and the Republic by Alexios I.[3] Later attempts to limit the strength of Venice by making alliances with Pisa and Genoa failed similarly. Although the Republic was theoretically the chief Western ally of the Empire, its subjects frequently engaged in piracy against the Greeks in exactly the same way as other Latins.

Byzantine merchants naturally resented the success of the Latins, and anti-Western feeling increased.[4] But very little could be done to check the growth of Italian trade and piracy. As provincial defence, both on land and sea, was wholly inadequate by the twelfth century, the population of Central Greece was left to defend itself. When the Norman fleet approached in 1147 the people of Monemvasia successfully beat off their attack, but those at Corinth and Thebes were taken off to Sicily. The commander at Corinth, whose duty was to protect the town, either

1. In addition to the use of Pisan ships, a Calabrian pirate Giovanni Stirione, was employed to command them, N. Ch. 636-7.
2. Kinnamos, 281.
3. TT I, 96-8.
4. Anti-Latin feeling was forcibly expressed in 1171 and again in 1182, when Byzantines throughout the Empire turned on Italian merchants, N. Ch. 223, 325-7; Kinnamos, 282; Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica, 32-6.

was incompetent or had too few men to withstand the Norman assault.[1] In the 1190s there was no force in Greece capable of checking the Genoese pirate, Leone Vetrano, who had established himself on the island of Kerkyra (Corfu). From his base he repeatedly raided the ports of Peloponnesos.[2]

Among the Latins the Venetians took the most prominent place. Their influence was felt in all parts of the Empire, particularly in Central Greece. Although the arrest of Venetians in 1171 and ensuing massacre had embittered relations between the two powers, at the end of the century Venetian wealth and resources were greater than those of any other Italian republic. The trading activity of the Venetians can be traced through the series of privileges granted during the twelfth century, which are recorded in imperial chrysobulls. The first, drawn up in the course of the Norman war of 1082-5, when Byzantium desperately needed naval aid, permitted Venetian merchants to trade freely in all parts of the Empire except the Black Sea, listing specific areas in the Western provinces:

> ....Dyrrachion, Aulonem, Choriphus, Bondizam, Methonem, Coronem, Nauplion, Corinthion, Thebas, Athenas, Euripon, Demetriada, Thessalonicam.....[3]

They were exempt from all taxes normally paid by merchants and they

1. N. Ch. 97, 99-101. Nikèphoros Chalouphès, the commander of the fortress of Acrocorinth, retired into the citadel and refused to do anything to prevent the Norman sacking of houses and shops in the lower city.
2. Methônè and Korônè were attacked in 1199 and Vetrano was still raiding in 1208, see TT II, 54-5, 57.
3. TT I, 52-3.

could build workshops, warehouses and factories without restriction. With these privileges Venetian merchants were placed in an extremely advantageous position, as Greek merchants continued to pay the full 10% tax on the transport and sale of goods. The Italians were able to consolidate their control over Byzantine trade, both internal and external, and they effectively pre-empted competition in the organisation of the export trade.

In Greece there were Venetians in every important port and market town. They had quarters in Thebes, Corinth and Almyros,[1] the chief export centres, and their property included churches and factories. When Manuel I ordered the arrest of all Venetians and confiscation of their property in 1171, the extent of their trading network in Greece was revealed. Claims for compensation amounting to considerable sums continued to be made by Venetians right up to 1204.[2] The main activity was the export of particular products, oil for example, and companies were regularly formed to transport goods to other parts of the Empire, as well as to Alexandria, the ports of Syria and the West. Although the sudden arrest of Venetians resident in 1171 put an end to this activity for some years, some returned as soon as it was safe for them to be seen again.[3]

In 1187 Isaac II Angelos restored to Venice all the privileges of the original treaty, but he did not add autonomous control of Venetian

1. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 11; Lombardo and Rocca, Documenti, I, 88, 108, 137.
2. Frugerio Senatore da Equilo, for example, put in a claim for compensation for the 55 yperpera which he lost in Thebes on 12 March 1171; he had invested in a company which had been seized, Lombardo and Rocca, Documenti, I, 418.
3. Manuel had 10,000 Venetians resident in the capital arrested; so many that some were imprisoned in monasteries when the prisons overflowed. There was very little Venetian trade in Constantinople for the next four years, and communities in the provinces never regained their pre-1171 prosperity, see Kinnamos, 282; N. Ch. 223.

quarters or entry to the Black Sea.[1] Byzantine officials remained to observe trading activity, although a Venetian judge was normally in residence to arbitrate in quarrels between the Venetians. By the Treaty of 1198, however, there was a considerable increase in the number of ports open to the merchants of the Republic :

> .....Kephalini, Zakintos, Leukas, Ithaki, orion Patron et Methonis, orion Corinthij, Argus et Nauplij. Orion Thebarum et Euripij, Caristo, Andro et Keo, Milo, orion Athenarum... ...Prounitia Velechatiue, prouintia Valachie, episkepsis Demetriados, episkepsis Greuennicon et Fersalon, Duo Almeri, episkepsis Domocu et Vesenis.....Prouintia Verias cum catepanikio Cetri.....chartularata Ezeros, Dobrochuvysta .....Tricala, prouintia Larisse.....[2]

This illustrates the expansion in Thessaly and the Ionian islands which had probably taken place long before, but which had not been recognised by the Byzantines. Finally, in 1204, when the participants of the Fourth Crusade drew up the Partitio regni graeci, the Venetians claimed areas of Greece where they had long been active.[3] They obtained towns and ports in Peloponnesos, Lakedaimonia, Kalabryta, Patras and Methônè, together with all the estates in those regions, the land belonging to the Branas and Kantakouzènos families, the possessions of Princess Irene, daughter of Alexios III, and several monastic properties. They also got control of many islands, Andros, Aigina and Salamis, Zakynthos, Kephalonia, Leukas and Corfu, Naxos and two harbours in Euboia, Ôreos and Karystos. In this way they assured for themselves ports of call round the coasts of Greece and valuable properties inland. With these resources they would be able to continue trading in all parts of the Empire, even if Thessaly and Attika were to be controlled by the pilgrims of

1. TT I, 184-8.
2. TT I, 263-7.
3. TT I, 464-73.

the Fourth Crusade. Although this division of the Empire was not of permanent significance, Venice did retain control over some of the islands and the two ports of Korônè and Methônè into the sixteenth century, and during this period her merchants continued to export.

Despite their position of predominance the Venetians could not exclude rival Italian traders. Pisans and Genoese both profited from Byzantine exports, and competed for trade. They used the ports of Almyros and Corinth on their trips between Constantinople, where they each had separate quarters, and the West. As the Italian republics were almost constantly at war with each other during the twelfth century, there were often disputes and fights in the commercial centres of Greece. This fact, added to the natural resentment of local Greek merchants, can not have endeared the Italian population to the Greek. As Orthodox priests openly disapproved of the Catholic faith and prevented intermarriage between Greeks and Latins, there was considerable pressure against any sort of integration. The Italians probably kept themselves separate from the native population and constituted a distinct foreign element in Byzantine society.

The size of the population.

Unfortunately there are no figures to suggest the size of towns or the numbers of either rural or urban population. Benjamin of Tudela provides some idea of the relative size and wealth of the main centres, confirming what is known from Italian sources. Thebes was the largest city, the administrative capital of Ellas and Peloponnesos and an important

centre of silk production. [1] But Thebes did not rival the chief cities of the Empire, such as Thessalonike, Ephesos, Nikaia and the capital itself. Other towns in Central Greece, Corinth, Athens, Demetrias, Almyros, Larissa and Trikkala, appear to have been smaller centres, but the large number of Italians at Almyros probably swelled the native population. [2]

Of the rural population we have very little information. Michaèl Chôniatès, Metropolitan of Athens in the last years of the twelfth century, suggests that the harsh climate, sandy soil and heavy burden of taxation was driving people off the land. [3] The development of town life must have attracted peasants to commercial centres, but we have no proof that the rural population was declining, nor of its numbers.

Despite the fact that the authorities in Constantinople tended to dismiss the provinces of Central and Southern Greece as unproductive and unimportant territory, it is clear that the land was by no means unfertile. It supported an increasing urban population during the twelfth century, including the many foreigners who saw great strategic importance in the ports of Greece. The siting of Korônè, Methônè, Corinth and Almyros was a considerable asset to the region, for these ports were used in East/West trade until the development of the steamship in the nineteenth century. The later exploitation of Greece by the Franks and Venetians

1. Italian documents concerned with export trade suggest that Thebes was a most important centre of oil production, see, for example, F. Thiriet, La Romanie Vénitienne au moyen âge, Paris, 1959, It was the administrative capital of the theme; the praitôr lived there, see M. Ch. I, 307-11; II, 107. H. Ahrweiler first gives Thebes as the administrative capital, op. cit. 86, and then Athens, ibid. 277; this change fits with her theory that the megas doux was governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos, but it is unnecessary.
2. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10-12.
3. M. Ch. II, 26, 54, 99, 105 and many other references.

realised the potential wealth of the area, which had been ignored by the Byzantines.

But we still have no clear impression of the size of the twelfth century population. Michaèl Chôniatès suggested that Athens was rather a small place, a provincial backwater, but he wrote as an inhabitant of the cosmopolitan capital, who suffered a rude cultural shock on arriving in Greece.[1] Certainly Athens had not the same sort of tradesmen or the variety of craftsmen that were found easily in Corinth and Thebes.[2] But it could provide all the necessities of life. It appears to have had quite a large non-working population of local landowners and notables. These were well-to-do families who had town houses in Athens, Thebes and Euripos on Euboia.[3] The fact that many preferred to live in Athens suggests that there was still some prestige attached to the city, although it may not have been important economically. The Church of the Theotokos (Mother of God) on the Acropolis (previously the Parthenon) was of course an important centre of pilgrimage, and gave certain value to the old centre of Hellenism.[4]

1. Ibid. II, 87. See also the very apt comments by R. Browning, Unpublished correspondence between Michael Italicus and Theodoros Prodromos, BB I, 1962, 284-97. N. Ch. 802, suggests that during the siege of Athens by Sgouros, the entire population and its herds were sheltered in the Acropolis, but this indication does not help to calculate the size of the population. Many thousands could be accomodated within the walls, and could use the water supply of Klepsydra, cf. the siege of 1827 recorded by Makryiannis, but the population of Athens in the first decade of the thirteenth century could hardly have been more than 3,000 to 5,000. On Byzantine urban population, see the interesting comments of S. Vryonis in a review article, Byzantina, I, 1969, 219-22.
2. M. Ch. II, 12, 69.
3. N. Svoronos, op. cit. 142.
4. The visit of Basil II in 1018 was one of the most celebrated pilgrimages to the Parthenon, Kedrènos, II, 475.

Conclusion.

By the twelfth century the population of Central Greece was in the main thoroughly Byzantine, that is, consciously 'Roman', Greek-speaking and Orthodox. The area was now under firm Byzantine control and despite Slavonic, Arab and Bulgar influence, pagan belief had been obliterated by the spread of orthodoxy. There were still non-Byzantine elements, Jews, Vlachs and Latins, but these were not hostile minorities constantly at war with imperial authorities.

Yet the region still suffered the effects of the Slav invasions. Economic development had been retarded despite the natural resources of the area and the general economic revival of the eleventh century. Subsequent Bulgar and Norman invasions extended the general insecurity which prevented the growth of trade and of urban centres. This backwardness was made more obvious by the imperial policy of draining the provinces of the Empire of wealth: the development of Constantinople and the prosperity of the capital was always put before the needs of provincial areas. Finally, Italian merchants effectively put a stop to any possibility of accumulated wealth in Ellas and Peloponnesos, when they cornered the export trade and captured most of the profits of commerce and industry. As a result of these factors, the population of Greece remained largely poor. Landowners, both individuals and institutions, were best able to contribute to, and share in the growing prosperity, but for the majority the twelfth century was not more prosperous. Taxation always increased, piracy threatened both rural and urban dwellers and the Emperors in far-off Constantinople did nothing to help.

Thus in 1204 Ellas and Peloponnesos still displayed the effects of invasions which had disturbed the Balkans from the sixth to the twelfth century.

CHAPTER THREE.

The Administration of the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos in the twelfth century.

1. The Structure of Provincial Administration.

The Byzantine system of 'themata' administration was essentially military. It was characterised by a combination of civil and military power in the hands of one man, the stratègos (governor), and by the establishment of very large provinces (themata).[1] Because of the original military threat to the Empire, all aspects of administration were subordinated to the governor's control and to military needs. When high-ranking officials were sent from the central ministries to supervise particular operations, they came under the authority of the governor.[2]

Despite this highly militarised system, strong civilian influence was expressed through the local officials who constituted the permanent staff of provincial administration. In the provinces the basic principle of two powers, one central and the other local, was judiciously maintained. Of the two, the governor who was appointed by the Emperor, was

1. There is an immense bibliography on the origins of the system, a large part of it preoccupied by the role of Herakleios, which is not at issue here. On the general character of 'themata', see H. Gelzer, Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung, Leipzig 1899/ Amsterdam 1966: C. Diehl, L'origine du régime des thèmes dans l'Empire byzantin, in Etudes Byzantines, Paris 1905; G. Ostrogorsky, L'Exarchat de Ravenne et l'origine des Thèmes byzantins, VII Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna 1960, 99-110; Ahrweiler, Administration, 1-24. The Greek terms θέμα and θεματικός are translated here as province and provincial or left in the original. But it must be remembered that province is used in a specific sense, which in no way resembles the Roman province. 'Themata' of the seventh century were very large areas comprising several old provincial units, e. g. the extent of the Armeniakon thema included Cappodocia I and II; Hellenopontus; Pontus polemoniacus; Armenia I and II, and the eastern half of Galatia I; see Antoniades-Bibicou, Histoire Maritime, 74-7.
2. Leo VI, Taktika, col. 705; Kekaumenos, 35, 72 ; DAI I, 240-2.

undoubtedly superior. But his overall control was mitigated by several factors. Firstly, governors were appointed for a limited period, generally for three years.[1] Secondly, during their term of office they might have to spend many weeks on campaign, often outside the province. Thirdly, as the provinces were by no means small areas, nor uniform, governors were always dependent on local officials for detailed information. In this way the body of local administrators might, in spite of their inferior positions, exert more effective control in the province than the Emperor's representative.[2]

In Central Greece the overwhelmingly military role of administration was not as immediately applicable as in the Eastern provinces. It was, nonetheless, put into operation in the same way, and it ensured that the Balkan provinces played a full part in ninth and tenth century campaigns against the Bulgars and Arabs.[3] Under the authority of the stratègos, the chief civilian position in each province was a judicial one, called kritès, dikastès or praitôr. These titles appear to have been used interchangeably during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[4] Although the position was relatively unimportant, in 911 the kritès of Ellas was responsible for all the military preparations for a Cretan campaign, acting with the stratègoi

1. Kekaumenos, 43, 65; Ahrweiler, Administration, 45.
2. No local officials were appointed on a permanent basis; the chartoularios, kritès and prôtonotarios were appointed usually for three years like the governor. But their duties made them much more aware of local conditions, see Ahrweiler, Administration, 37, 43-4.
3. On campaigns against the Bulgars, see Theophanès, 437, 486, 500; Kedrènos, II, 257, 285; against the Arabs, De Cer. I, 653-4, 665; Theophanès continued, 79. Western 'themata' armies also campaigned in Italy, see Geôrgios monachos, 852; Kedrènos, II, 253.
4. Leo VI, Taktika, col. 705; Ahrweiler, Administration, 75-6, quotes the example of Nikèphoritzès, known by all three titles, see Attaleiatès, 182; Kekaumenos, 73, and a letter of Psellos, Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè, V, 344.

of Thessalonikè, Nikopolis and Peloponnesos.[1] In this situation he may have replaced the governor of Ellas. The authority of the kritès was increased by Leo VI's decision to allow civil officials the power of making wills, previously restricted to stratègoi.[2] From a subordinate and purely judicial role, the kritès gradually extended his control over other aspects of provincial administration.

This process was part of a major change in eleventh century administration, which involved not only the military powers and the central bureaucracy but also all local officials. The causes and effects of this complex development, which took place in a period of crisis, are difficult to identify. But it seems clear that the failure of the old military system was basic to the change. As provincial troops declined and were replaced by professional and mercenary forces, the authority of the stratègos also declined. As the central administration tried to exert greater control of provincial resources, the remaining local administrators were subjected to increasing pressure from Constantinople. There was no direct replacement of the stratègos, but by the twelfth century the position of an omnipotent military governor had completely disappeared.[3]

Gradually a new system developed. In the Asian provinces it was fairly uniform: civil governors were generally known as doux kai anagrapheus.[4]

1. De Cer. I, 657.
2. Novelles de Léon VI, ed. P. Noailles and A. Dain, Paris, 1944, 179-80. (no. 44).
3. Ahrweiler, Administration, 50-2; 69-78; 89-90.
4. MM IV, 324, 325; cf. Ahrweiler, op. cit. 77. This dual title indicates that they did not have the predominantly military character of earlier stratègoi.

In the European parts of the Empire there were a variety of titles and offices, which has given rise to several theories and explanations of provincial administration. [1] These theories have attempted to impose a regularity which is negated by the evidence. It seems likely that provincial organisation in the Western half of the Empire varied from one province to another; particular men were sent to different areas to perform specific duties rather than to hold the position of governor for a fixed period. Alexios Komnènos Bryennios, for example, held the position of megas doux, the highest naval command, whereas Petros Serblias was magistros, kritès and bestitôr; yet both were governors of Central Greece. [2]

The irregularity of titles, however, should not disguise the basic function of all twelfth century governors, which was to collect taxation. Whatever the title, the job remained the same. The eleventh century crisis in Byzantium had revealed serious weaknesses in imperial administration, which the central authorities tried to remedy by tightening control over finance. Part of this process was an increasing commutation of taxes in kind, and a fiscalisation of services and duties. The provision of horses for the imperial postal service, supplies of corn, meat and oil for local officials, and personal service in the army or navy were among those duties which were transformed into money payments during the eleventh century. In order to collect these new payments numerous fiscal agents were sent from the capital to the provinces.

1. See A. Mordtmann, Plombs byzantins de la Grèce, RA XXIV, 1877, 42-52; Sigillographie, 568-9; N. Banescu, La signification des titres πραίτωρ et προνοητής à Byzance aux 11e et 12e siècles, Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, III, 1946 (= Studi e Testi no. 123), 387-98.
2. On Alexios Komnènos Bryennios, see Kinnamos, 165, 210; M. Ch. I, 336-8. On Petros Serblias, Sigillographie, 190, 698; N. Bees, Zur Sigillographie der Themen Hellados und Peloponnesou, VV XXI, 1914, 223-4.

While growing centralisation of resources limited the authority of the provincial governor, his main occupation was to facilitate and ensure the collection of taxes. Whether he was personally responsible or worked together with agents from Constantinople was immaterial.

While this process occurred in all parts of the Empire, special changes in Central Greece produced a new situation. In the first half of the eleventh century the two provinces of Ellas and Peloponnesos were united under a single authority.[1] This development was paralleled further north where the province of Strymon was united with those of Boleron and Thessalonikè.[2] This movement has been variously interpreted, either as an indication of the strength of imperial authority in the Balkans, or as a measure of the need for economy. In general it has not been set against the background of growing fiscalisation. The commuting of services and decline of provincial troops meant that there was much less work for provincial administrators and most of it was financial. This could easily be reconciled with the unification of provinces.

During the eleventh century the new province of Ellas and Peloponnesos was governed by both civil and military officials. Among them Nikèphoros Botaneiatès held the title of "prôtoproedros kai doux Ellados kai Peloponnèsou" before he became Emperor in 1078.[3] Other governors were designated by the

1. The first official of the united provinces seems to have been a "dikastès Ellados kai Ellespontou" (the last word should obviously read "Peloponnèsou"), see Skylitzes, 706.
2. See P. Lemerle, Philippes et la Macédoine orientale, Paris, 1945, 156-7.
3. This title is recorded on his seal published by G. Beglerès, Ὁ ἀνιστορικὸς τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ Νικηφόρου πρωτοπροέδρος καὶ δούξ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Πελοποννήσου Athens 1916. I have not been able to trace this book but it has been used by scholars such as Laurent and Bon, see B VI, 1931, 802; Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin, 200-1.

title anthypatos, which is recorded in the Life of Osios Meletios who died in 1105. It was held by officials of some importance, such as Epiphanios Kamatèros, Leôn Nikeritès and Bardas Ikanatos, and seems to refer to the supreme authority in the province. [1] But at the same time titles such as "prôtoproedros", "pronoètès", praitôr and kritès are recorded with increasing frequency. They suggest the growing importance of a civilian governor and the concomitant decline in provincial land and sea forces. [2]

This uncertainty in the title of the governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos was resolved by the reforms of Alexios I Komnènos. The megas doux, commander-in-chief of the Byzantine navy from the 1080s onwards, assumed control over all naval regions of the Empire. Ellas and Peloponnesos were clearly within this orbit; neither part of the province had provided military forces for some time, but both were required to pay the special naval taxes, plôimoi kai katergoktisia, the commuted form of service in the provincial fleet. [3] All coastal areas paid these taxes in order to provide sailors and ships to patrol imperial waters. But the money that was raised was not always spent by the naval department in the proper manner, and coastal regions were regularly without protection against pirates. [4]

The authority of the megas doux in naval provinces was recognised in various ways. In Crete, one of the most strategic bases of the Empire, the 'katepano' or doux of the island was called the servant (anthrôpos) of the

1. Life of Osios Meletios, 53, 59, 60-2.
2. See N. Banescu, op. cit. 391-2; C. Diehl, La Signification du titre 'proedros' à Byzance, Mélanges G. Schlumberger, I, Paris, 1924, 105-117; Ahrweiler, Administration, 85 (note 13), 67-70, 75-6.
3. M. Ch. I, 308, 310; II, 106-7; Ahrweiler, La Mer, 276-7; Antoniades-Bibicou, Histoire Maritime, 39-43.
4. N. Ch. 74-6; Ahrweiler, op. cit. 230-1; Lemerle, Terre Militaire, 274-5.

megas doux, literally, one of his "men".[1] In Central Greece the megas doux exercised direct control as governor of the province. This control was often theoretical rather than real - only three twelfth century naval commanders are known to have been effective governors of Ellas and Peloponnesos. Eumathios Philokalès, Alexios Komnènos Bryennios and Michaèl Stryphnos combined the position of megas doux with that of praitôr or anthypatos.[2] As governors none of them did much to improve conditions in Central Greece, although the name of Alexios was recalled with pride by Michael Chômiatès towards the end of the century. There is no evidence that Eumathios ever set foot in the region, and the brief visit of Michaèl does not appear to have brought any benefits to the population.[3]

Throughout the twelfth century the highest authority in Ellas and Peloponnesos was vested in the megas doux, though this was rarely exercised. Given the completely maritime character of the province, the civil governor, praitôr or kritès, was left with responsibility for all aspects of administration apart from naval. This was primarily financial and judicial; military matters played a very small part indeed. Altogether eight governors are known as praitôr, and a further seven as kritès.[4] Both titles reflect the absolute authority of a civil governor who ruled as a petty despot within the province. He had a bevy of officials, a military escort and

1. MM VI, 96, 97.
2. On Eumathios Philokalès, see Mordtmann, op. cit. 49; Sigillographie, 188-9; Alexiade, III, 34-44, 142-6, 148; MM VI, 96.
   On Alexios Komnènos Bryennios, Kinnamos, 165, 210; M. Ch. I, 336, 338
   On Michaèl Stryphnos, N. Ch. 637, 651, 716-8; M. Ch. I, 324-42; II, 98-100; Actes de Lavra, I, 67, 68.
3. M. Ch. I, 324-42; II, 98-100. In fact the letter suggests that things were if anything worse after Stryphnos' visit.
4. See the list of governors, page 125.

an enormous number of financial advisers to cope with the collection of taxes. The fact that the megas doux had final authority in the province does not appear to have limited the governor's power. When a military presence was necessary, a special commander was appointed; for example, Steiriônès was sent to Central Greece to destroy the pirate bases on Aigina and Makri. His visit did not interfere with the governor. [1]

Within new limits and in different circumstances, twelfth century governors of Ellas and Peloponnesos were still the most powerful officials in the province. They were not the direct successors of tenth century stratègoi; they were governors with a new role and function. They were still appointed for a restricted term of office, usually three years, but they often preferred to remain in the capital and send a deputy to the province The distinction between the centrally-appointed governor and local officials was as strong as ever. By the twelfth century it was the praktôr who exercised greatest power among the latter, and there is considerable evidence to show that local tax collectors were able to terrorise the provincial population. Despite the reorganisation of administration central control was only nominal. Junior officials were often in a position to determine the course of administration, even against the orders of Emperors and ministries at Constantinople.

1. M. Ch. I, 308; II, 106.

2. The administration of the province of Ellas.

The civil and military aspects of provincial administration were always closely connected through the basic instrument of government - the cadastral survey of land.[1] This was the chief responsibility of junior officials, the chartoularios, epoptès, anagrapheus and praktôr of each province. They measured and registered farmland, vineyard, olive grove, forest, waste land, property, livestock and families, and recorded every other particular of provincial life. In this survey they had a complete list of the resources of the area. It was used primarily for tax purposes; the assessment and allocation of exemption and relief; but it was also intimately linked with the system of military service.

Provincial armies were made up of local militias, recruited among the farmers who could guarantee sufficient wealth to equip themselves for war. In exchange for their services as volunteers they would be allotted so many modia of land, which they held free of taxes and certain impositions. This land was recorded in both the provincial cadaster as military land, stratiôtikè gè, and in a separate military catalogue, which listed the name

1. The fundamental work of Byzantine cadastral surveys by N. Svoronos, Cadastre de Thèbes, deals with a fragmentary cadaster of the eleventh century, but it is clear that Byzantine practices had not changed much over the centuries. The 'Fiscal Treaty' dating from the first half of the tenth century, reveals exactly the same method of measurement and assessment of taxes by anagraphea, epoptai and exisôtai, see Finanzverwaltung, 79-82; Steuergemeinde, 81-7.
The very close links between civil administration and military organisation are illustrated by the fact that secondary works dealing with the first automatically cover the second, e. g. Ahrweiler, Administration. Also any discussion of agrarian history unites around both topics. These works are therefore very important for any study of military matters, see especially G. Ostrogorsky, Pour l'histoire de la Féodalité byzantine, Brussels, 1954; idem. Quelques problèmes de la paysannerie byzantine, Brussels, 1956; and the critical response by P. Lemerle, Esquisse, and Terre militaire.

of the holder who would be called up whenever the local militia was mobilised.[1] This system was obviously dependent on the accuracy of provincial cadasters. It was vital to know what resources could be used in time of war, for example, how many horses could be commandeered and from whom. Because of these military pressures, cadasters appear to have been regularly revised and brought up-to-date.[2]

Military catalogues were compiled for each province and copies were kept both in the provincial capital and in the bureau of the logothetès tou stratiôtikou, head of the military administration in Constantinople.[3] Recruitment into the local militia was organised by periodic visits to the villages led by the stratègos or his deputy, accompanied by the chartoularios and other officers. The team would inspect volunteers and select those who were relatively well-off and who could provide their own fighting equipment and horse with saddle and full harness.[4] This was reckoned to

1. The terms of military service and the role of local militias (themata armies) are mentioned in the Taktika and tenth century Novels dealing with land tenure, see Leo VI, Taktika; A. Dain, Sylloge Tacticorum, Paris, 1938; R. Vari, Incerti Scriptoris, Leipzig, 1901; Kekaumenos and Zepos, Jus GR.
2. It is reasonable to suppose that military catalogues were updated at the same time as provincial cadasters, see Cadastre de Thèbes, 63-7.
3. That military catalogues were kept in the central office can be inferred from cadastral practice, cf. note above; Cadastre de Thèbes, ibid. Finanzverwaltung, 96.
4. Zepos, Jus GR II, 79. A Novel of Constantine VII classifies the provincial soldier (stratiôtès) as 'periphanesteros', that is very well-off, ibid. I, 217. On the recruitment procedure, see the Life of S. Philaretos, B IX, 1934, 127. The voluntary aspect of enrollment in the army seems to have given way rapidly to forced service. The role of epoptai, strateutai and prôtonotarioi in this process is illustrated by Zonaras, III, 505-6.

cost four pounds of gold a year, a considerable sum for a peasant farmer.[1]

Once enrolled on the military catalogue, the soldier was issued with a strateia, a land-holding of stratiôtikè gè, exempt from state taxes. The exact area of the strateia, defined by its boundaries with neighbouring lands, was recorded together with the name of the person who would report to the militia when the summons went out. It appears that some peasants were enrolled as soldiers and then got someone else to fight for them, a strateuomenos. This practice perhaps encouraged the custom of paying a money tax instead of serving in person, a custom which is recorded in the reign of Leo VI and which became much more common later on.[2]

When the provincial army had been established it was maintained by the civilian officials, chiefly the chartoularios. He was responsible for paying the officers their wages and paying the soldiers on campaign. He also issued the adnoumion, call to arms. Failure to report at the right time and place, or failure to bring full armour, resulted in forfeit of the strateia and removal from the military catalogue. The chartoularios would find a replacement to take on the responsibilities, and if this took any length of

1. Tenth century Novels fixed four pounds of gold, or 288 nomismata, as the minimum sum, Zepos, Jus GR, I, 223, but some soldiers appear to have had greater resources. The problem then was to force them to register the requisite number of modia as stratiôtikè gè. There was probably quite a range of wealth among provincial troops, some being as rich and powerful as the dynatoi, stratègoi and prôtonotarioi, others distinctly poorer, see Theophanès continued, 433; Theophanès, 486.
2. The whole family of a soldier benefited from the status of a stratiôtikos oikos, whose land was exkoussatos and eleutheros (exempt and free) from all taxes except the basic land tax and aerikon, see A. Dain, op. cit. 58; Leo VI, Taktika, col. 1032. On the strateuomenos, see the Life of S. Philaretos, B IX, 1934, 125-7; Leo VI, Taktika, col. 764; Vari, op. cit. 48; Zepos, Jus GR I, 200-4.

time the strateia would revert to the state as klasmatikè gè. [1] Other provincial officials were responsible for the provision of supplies and equipment for each campaign. [2] Once the forces had been mobilised they were trained and commanded by the governor (stratègos).

There is no record of the military catalogue of the province of Ellas, but it must have been very similar to the catalogue of Peloponnesos which is described by Constantine VII. [3] The Emperor reports what happened when the forces of Peloponnesos were ordered to prepare for a campaign in Southern Italy. They agreed to pay 100 pounds of gold and to supply 1,000 horses saddled and bridled rather than take part in person. In order to requisition such a large number of horses, the provincial administration forced all Metropolitans, Bishops and monastic institutions in the province to provide four or two each. The prôtospatharioi, spatharokandidatoi, spatharioi and stratores all contributed so many, and the holders of imperial dignities, basilika axiômata, and certain skilled craftsmen were exempt. The money was raised by demanding five nomismata from everyone enrolled on the military catalogue, except for those absolutely without means, aporoi, who had to give two-and-a-half each. The interdependence

1. Leo VI, Taktika, col. 705; Finanzverwaltung, 68-9; Klèterologion, 44-5, 104. Ahrweiler, Administration, 15, documents the various illegal measures resorted to by soldiers who were unable to satisfy military requirements. The most common was flight, phygè, which is frequently mentioned in the Novels governing military service. Klasmatikè gè was land with no legal owner. The term is generally used for abandoned stichoi of village land for which the community as a whole was responsible, Finanzverwaltung, 80-1. See also page 209.
2. For the 911/2 campaign against Crete, for example, a detailed account of the preparations is recorded by Constantine VII. The kritès of Ellas, the archôn Chrèpou (Euripou) and the stratègoi of Thessalonikè, Nikopolis and Peloponnesos, had to provide spears, shields and arrows. The Thrakèsion province officials were responsible for large quantities of food and wine, while the stratègos of Samos supplied extra ladders and naval equipment, see De Cer. I, 657-8.
3. DAI I, 256; II, 204-5; Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin, 115.

of cadaster and catalogue records is well illustrated by these events.

In another overseas expedition of the tenth century there is evidence of the naval section of the provincial forces of Ellas. [1] Because of the expanse of littoral and the valuable maritime sites in Central Greece, naval strength was always necessary to its military forces. A small fleet attached to the area took part in the revolt of 727, when the population of Greece and the islands set out to depose the iconoclast Leo III. [2] There had always been communication by sea between Aegean inhabitants and the people of Central Greece and the Asian coast. The populations of these regions were clearly experienced sailors. [3] Naval defence against pirates, whether Slav, Arab, Norman or Latin, was built into the military organisation of Ellas, and its decline in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was a disaster for the region. In the tenth century, however, the maritime section was well organised.

The attempt to recapture Crete in 911/2 was a major attack on the Arab stronghold. Ellas had to provide 10 dromones each with 230 rowers and 70 soldiers; a total of 3,000 men, of whom 700 were warriors. [4] This naval force was to operate with the fleets of the Kibyrreot, Samos and Aigaion Pelagos themata, all three purely naval provinces which had no

1. De Cer. I, 653; Antoniades-Bibicou, Histoire Maritime, 92-3.
2. The tourmarchès Agallianos led the revolt, and a certain Stephanos was chosen as Emperor, but both perished in the sea battle, see Theophanès, 405; Nikèphoros, 58.
3. Sailing activity is often mentioned in the Lives of Saints, see for example the travels of S. Gregorios from Dekapolites, La Vie de S. Grégoire le Décapolite, ed. F. Dvornik, Paris, 1926, 53-6, 62-3. A ship's captain (nauklèros) from Demetrias is known in the ninth century, Life of Osios Loukas, 147; and the sea-faring occupation of most islanders is clear from chronicles, e. g. the inhabitants of Karpathos, Attaleiatès, 224.
4. See note 1 above, and note 2 on page 94.

territorial army. This indicates the importance of Ellas' naval forces, as it had to supply the same number of dromones as Samos thema, and three more than Aigaion Pelagos. [1] It is possible that by this early date the bulk of military duties in Ellas were of a naval character. This became the case later in the eleventh century.

Naval service is known to have existed in all the coastal provinces in the West, Ellas, Peloponnesos, Nikopolis, Kephalonia, Sicily and Southern Italy (Loggoubardia), as well as in purely maritime areas where land forces were not of much use. But in the West it was always part of the provincial armies; that is, the Western provinces had to maintain both maritime and territorial troops. This dual character was suitable for regions like Central Greece, where defence of both the littoral and the interior mountain passes was of equal importance to its security.

The maritime skills of the inhabitants of the Western provinces encouraged the establishment of companies of professional sailors called Mardaites in coastal regions. They took their name from frontier soldiers of the Lebanon, who were settled in Pamphylia and Armenia by Justinian II. The original Mardaites seem to have gone into naval service in the Kibyrreot thema, and their Western counterparts, found in Nikopolis,

1. There was an important distinction between the three purely maritime provinces, ta tria ploimothemata, (Kibyrreot, Samos and Aigaion Pelagos), and those with a dual character, Ellas, Peloponnesos, Kephalonia, Nikopolis and Sicily. The former provided forces which were autostoloi and auteretai, i. e. they armed themselves and provided their own boats, and against this heavy expense they received extensive lands. Whereas the maritime sections of the latter were probably assisted by the Treasury. If professional sailors (taxatoi) or Mardaites served in the Ellas forces, they would have been armed and paid by Constantinople. The dromôn was the principal ship in the Byzantine navy, see Ahrweiler, La Mer, 410-3; Antoniades-Bibicou, Histoire Maritime, 157-8.

Peloponnesos and Kephalonia, were probably special maritime contingents modelled on them. [1] In the 911/2 campaign 6,000 Mardaites from the Western themata took part, of whom 1,000 were sailors and 5,000 Mardaite soldiers, that is, a professional military contingent which travelled on the Mardaite boats to fight in Crete. Clearly these soldiers were not all from the Lebanon; they were a crack regiment recruited and settled in Nikopolis, Peloponnesos and Kephalonia. Inhabitants of Ellas may well have volunteered for this force as its service was very well paid. [2]

There is little evidence of the organisation of provincial fleets, although service was probably rewarded by some system of privileges and tax exemptions. [3] Ordinary inhabitants of coastal regions who served in provincial fleets were inscribed in a naval catalogue similar to the military one. [4] For their expense in providing boats and equipment, as well as

1. Theophanès, 364, 385; Dölger, Regest. 257; DAI I, 84, 94, 240-2; Theophanès continued, 304, 311; K. Amantos, Mardaitai, Ellènika, V, 1932, 130-6; Ahrweiler, La Mer, 84-5, 399.
2. De Cer. I, 656; Antoniades-Bibicou, op. cit. 92-3, 142; Ahrweiler, op. cit. 399-401. In the same way as professional sailors who served in the imperial fleet, the Mardaites were certainly recruited from maritime areas of the Empire. They constituted a large body and took part in most naval campaigns together with the Russian force, see De Cer. I, 651, 655-7, 665, 668 etc. As a professional force they were paid by the Treasury, not out of provincial resources. In this respect they were equated with tagmata forces of Constantinople, see Ahrweiler, op. cit. 402-3.
3. In the quest for an institution which could be identified as the maritime strateia, scholars have picked on Nikèphoros I's forced sale of lands to nauklèroi, Theophanès, 487. H. Antoniades-Bibicou has recently collected these arguments, Histoire Maritime, chapter IV, Biens militaires et premiers "thèmes" maritimes, especially 109-114. But she does not succeed in removing the criticism of P. Lemerle, Terre Militaire, 274-5 . Ahrweiler, La Mer, 212-4, has identified the maritime strateia instituted by the Komnènoi.
4. They were called apotetagmenoi plôimoi and must be connected with the autostoloi and auteretai of purely maritime provinces, Zepos, Jus GR I, 222; De Cer. I, 695. The chief difference between them and the professional sailors was that the latter received pay and pensions from the Treasury, and therefore did not need payment in land. Ownership of land might have interfered with their duties, in fact, as they were expected to be permanently on guard, see Zepos, Jus GR, I, 222-3; Theophanès continued, 391; Georgios monarchos continued, 883.

manning the boats during campaigns, whether they served in person or not, they were given lands similar to stratiôtikè gè. It seems probable that every province responsible for the provision of a fleet had a naval register of those who would serve, together with the lands they held. [1] The expense of being a plôimos was compensated by considerable privileges, for example the plôimoi of Peloponnesos were exempt from the requisition of horses for the Italian campaign. [2]

Until the reconquest of Crete in 961, provincial fleets must have been fully occupied, and even afterwards the Arab threat from Sicily and North Africa, and Norman and Italian pirate activity demanded some maritime defence. But during the eleventh century dangers from the sea declined and the provincial fleet declined correspondingly. [3] At the same time provincial armies were not maintained and the practice of replacing personal service by a money payment was allowed to develop. [4] It is highly probable that

1. The fact that plôimoi had certain privileges and were characterised as apotetagmenoi suggests that they were recorded on special lists similar to the taxeis on which taxatoi were inscribed. These lists were essentially catalogues, whether the same term was used or not.
2. DAI I, 256.
3. The re-establishment of Byzantine control in the East Mediterranean under Nikèphoros Phôkas and the impressive territorial conquests of John Tzimiskes and Basil II seem to have given eleventh century Emperors an exaggerated sense of power. It is clear that military and naval matters were ignored, despite frequent revolts, and this was possible only because the chief enemies of the Empire were preoccupied with events elsewhere, e. g. the Normans in Sicily, or were hopelessly divided among themselves, e. g. the Seljuk Turks.
4. Several sources mention the disbanding of the Ibèria/Mesopotamia provincial army by Constantine IX and the consequent occupation of that area by the Turks; Attaleiatès, 44; Kedrènos, II, 608; Zonaras, III, 647; Kekaumenos, 18. The commentary given by Lemerle, Terre Militaire, 271 (note 40), is the most complete and convincing. Mercenaries had always been employed in the Byzantine fleets, e. g. Toulmatzoi and Rôs, De Cer. I, 579, 651, 664, 667. So the growth of hired sailors was an obvious measure to use. During the eleventh century, however, there is no direct evidence of its application to the provincial fleet of Ellas.

this practice also extended to maritime service, enabling the authorities to collect money and to hire mercenary naval forces when necessary. This was the case by the end of the century when the archontes of the fleet were accused of administering naval duties in a corrupt and unjust fashion. While some people were exempt from personal service, others were forced to pay double the amount fixed as the commutation tax. This indicates a decline of personal service and a growth of money payments for the epèreia tou stolou. Kekaumenos would not have mentioned this abuse unless it was having a deleterious effect on local fleets. So by the late eleventh century there had already been a decline in provincial naval forces. [1]

The same development was occurring simultaneously in the organisation of territorial forces. Constantine IX's custom of replacing personal service in the army by a money payment is associated with his general neglect of the armed forces and his attempt to minimise the importance of the military. Civilian governors gradually took over supreme authority in the provinces, and military administration gave way to straight-forward bureaucratic control. [2] The local armies and maritime contingents were permitted to fall into disuse and the system of land-holding based on service in provincial forces gradually disappeared, until there was no

1. Kekaumenos, 102-3. The pleustikoi archontes were officials in charge of the maritime catalogues. It would have been in their power to accept money instead of service, hence the abuses and also the hiring of mercenaries.
2. This neglect is amply documented by contemporaries, and not only by military writers, e. g. Psellos, II, 154-5, records the plight of a poor soldier who had been prevented from serving in person for his strateia, and forced to pay the commutation tax. See also Attaleiatès, 60-1; Zonaras, III, 676. Under Constantine IX whole areas were treated in this way without choice; this is what happened in Iberia. The increase of civilian influence in the provinces has been documented by Ahrweiler, Administration, 67-78.

longer stratiôtikè gè farmed by peasant soldiers and sailors.[1]

To replace provincial forces, the central administration resorted to contingents of mercenaries, Petchenegs, Russians, Normans and Franks (Westerners in general) - units often openly hostile to the Byzantine Empire.[2] The motley army led by Romanos IV Diogenes against the Turks in 1071 illustrates perfectly the weaknesses and dangers of such troops. They were often treacherous, going over to the enemy when the battle turned against Byzantine forces, and generally unreliable. Despite the fact that they were usually better equipped than themata armies, they in no way took over the particular role of local defence in the provinces.[3]

This function was entrusted to sections of the professional army composed of tagmata. These companies had existed for centuries chiefly in the capital, where they formed a bodyguard for the Emperor. They were the crack troops of the Byzantine army, its inner strength. There were four tagmata each with its own commander and officers, who were

1. An important factor in the decline of themata soldiers was the establishment by Nikèphoros Phôkas of a nea strateia, composed of kataphraktoi, heavily armoured cavalry, see Zepos, Jus GR, I, 256. To support the more expensive equipment of this fighter, his stratiôtikè gè was increased to the value of 12 pounds of gold, from four. This meant that only those soldiers who possessed the means to undertake this expense would qualify to join the new army. And those who could not were relegated to inferior positions, such as light cavalry, infantry etc. further depressing the status of poor soldiers, H. Ahrweiler, Une nouvelle hypothèse sur le tétarteron d'or et la politique monétaire de Nicéphore Phokas, ZRBI VIII, i, 1963, 1-9.
2. Foreign troops had of course been employed regularly before the eleventh century, e. g. the imperial guard of Varangians, but a marked increase occurs in this period. The almost continual civil war from 1057-71, and disarray of themata forces, gave mercenary bands an important position. There was an unwritten tradition of treachery among them, partly due to the equally traditional Byzantine failure to pay, e. g. the defection of Varangian and Norman troops at the siege of Syracuse in 1040. After the defeat at Mantzikert revolts among foreigners became even more common; see Attaleiatès, 122-5, 188-9; Alexiade, I, 10; Zonaras, III, 709f.
3. Zonaras, III, 683; Attaleiatès, 103; Skylitzès, 668.

directly responsible to the Emperor and his commander-in-chief, the domestikos of the East. [1] In emergencies some of the tagmata would usually remain loyal to the Emperor and his family, They were well-paid and disciplined soldiers with a much greater sense of responsibility than either themata or mercenary soldiers. [2]

From the mid-eleventh century contingents of the tagmata were stationed in certain provinces where there was a threat of indigenous revolt or invasion. [3] A body of Exkoubitores was sent to Central Greece under the command of a local landlord, Nikoulitzas. [4] These professional troops were effective in times of invasion, for example, against the

1. The domestikos of the Scholai sometimes commanded the tagmata, but their overall chief was the domestikos tès anatolès. This post was held by Nikèphoros Phôkas before he became Emperor, Theophanès continued, 355; Kedrènos, II, 340. From the middle of the eleventh century this post, and its twin, the domestikos of the West, were both given the title of megas domestikos, but under Alexios I Komnènos supreme control of the army was entrusted to a single megas domestikos, henceforth the commander-in-chief of all Byzantine forces. Gregorios Pakourianos was the first to hold this position, see Alexiade, I, 159; Ahrweiler, La Mer, 206-7; R. Guilland, Le Grand Domesticat à Byzance, EO XXXVII, 1938, 53-64; V. Laurent, Le grand domesticat. Notes complémentaires, ibid. 65-72.
2. The tagma of Exkoubitores was largely responsible for the murder of Leo V and coup of Michael II in 820, see Genèsios, 19. In 1067 the Varangian guard tried unsuccessfully to prevent the marriage of Constantine Doukas' widow to Romanos IV; Skylitzès, 666.
3. Part of the tagma tôn Scholôn was sent to Adrianoupolis in 1050 with Nikètas Glabas, prôtospatharios and topotèrètès; Kedrènos, II, 602; and tagmata forces assisted in the defence of Dyrrachion and Antioch, key frontier cities in the eleventh century. It is not always possible to distinguish Constantinopolitan forces from bands of mercenaries also called tagmata, but in general the former were known as basilika (those in the City) or peratika (in the provinces), while the others had special names, e. g. megathymoi, see Kedrènos, II, 532.
4. Kekaumenos, 96. Nikoulitzas, doux Ellados, domestikos tôn Exkoubitôn tès Ellados.

Normans in Thessaly in the 1080s, but they failed to replace the local militias.[1] Their role in the internal life of the province appears to have been limited to putting down several revolts, which were usually provoked by excessive taxation.[2] The effects of running down the old provincial armies was fully realised in 1147, when Norman forces from Sicily captured the two important cities of Thebes and Corinth, and took all their inhabitants into exile.[3]

The reasons for these changes in military organisation, provincial administration and taxation have already been mentioned. The effect of fiscalisation in the provinces was that those who held a strateia, whether for territorial or maritime service, were now forced to pay a money tax to a fiscal agent sent from Constantinople, instead of participating in local defence.[4] They also had to contribute to the taxes levied for the upkeep and arming of professional soldiers and sailors stationed in the province. Instead of holding land which had a privileged status as stratiôtikè gè, they had to pay a tax on it, as well as all the normal taxes and apaitèsis logariou.[5] Strateia became the technical term for a fiscal charge;

1. Anna's description of her father's troops illustrates the total decline of themata forces; they are simply not mentioned, see Alexiade, I, 151-2. The tagmata of Exkoubitores; Macedonians and Thessalians; a band of Turks from the region of Ochrid; another of 2,000 Manichaians; the palace guard of bestiaritai; and Franks in companies also called tagmata, formed the Byzantine army which faced the Normans. Only the Thessalian and Macedonian sections could have been composed of local soldiers.
2. Kedrènos, II, 482-3.
3. N. Ch. 99-101; Kinnamos, 91-2.
4. The rate of this payment seems to have corresponded roughly to the exemption payment, see N. Oikonomides, Actes de Dionysiou (Archives de l'Athos IV) Paris, 1968, no. 1 (1056).
5. Zonaras, III, 505-6, records this process. Nikèphoros Phôkas sent anagraphea into the provinces to enroll even the poorest people for some sort of strateia, here clearly a money payment. Those with no means had to take on the postal service strateia, which had previously consisted of some form of personal assistance. Those who were already enrolled for the postal service had to undertake the pleustikè strateia, to provide sailors. Everyone was promoted to a more expensive payment, leading at the top to the strateia tôn kataphraktôn which provided money to hire an armed cavalry man. Cf. page 100 note 1.

it appears in exemption charters among other land taxes, synônè and kapnikon, because it was essentially a tax on a certain sort of land. Exactly the same process applied to naval services, and from the reign of John II (1118-1143) all pleustikai strateiai were paid direct to the Treasury, which meant an abrupt and total end of Byzantine naval activity in the Aegean. [1]

Some provincial stratiôtai probably joined the tagmata expanded to replace provincial armies. [2] Sailors who had experience in the themata fleets may have been able to enroll in the imperial naval service. But not all of them would have found employment in their military capacity. Those reduced to the position of peasant farmers would have suffered the fate of so many Byzantine provincial inhabitants in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Financial difficulties often forced them to abandon their own lands and seek employment on large estates where there might be a shortage of labour. [3]

1. N. Ch. 73-7. The re-organisation of maritime resources by Iôannès Poutzès had the effect of depriving the Aegean islands of naval defence, see Lemerle, Terre Militaire, 274-5.
2. The tagma tôn Thettalôn, for example, may have included soldiers from Thessaly, Alexiade, I, 151.
3. This was what happened to peasants who fled from their lands in earlier centuries as well as during this period, see Kedrènos, II, 368; Zepos, Jus GR I, 226; cf. chapter IV, page 211, 215.

3. Military Organisation in the Twelfth Century.

After the disappearance of provincial militias in the eleventh century local defence was entrusted to a small ineffective force under the control of the civil governor. [1] It was supposed to maintain key positions in the province - castles, mountain passes (kleisourai) and important ports. Even these limited services seem to have been unsuccessful, in fact, the existence of such forces has been queried. But it is clear that in Central Greece they were active, although ineffectual. In 1147, for example, Acrocorinth was manned by Nikèphoros Chalouphès, who may have been the kastrophylax or prokathèmenos. [2] He completely failed to defend the stronghold and all the local population who sought refuge there were captured by the Normans. Recruitment for these local forces continued in the twelfth century despite almost total fiscalisation of other dues and services. The drouggai mentioned by Michaèl Chôniatès, Metropolitan of Athens, in the last years of the century may indicate a small military contingent stationed in one of the kleisourai between Ellas and the insurgent Bulgars. [3] The numbers involved in this militia were probably limited and their success in providing local defence was minimal.

In the naval section there was a potentially strong force, organised in the oria, coastal areas of Greece. These oria were small units centring around each important port, where the authority of the megas doux was maintained by an archôn. The same sort of subdivision of provinces is

1. M. Ch. I, 309; II, 119. The prôtokentarchos appears to have provided a military escort for the governor rather than local defence. There is no common name for these limited military forces which probably varied from one region to another.
2. N. Ch. 101; Ahrweiler, Administration, 52, 90.
3. M. Ch. I, 310-1. On the kleisourai (mountainous regions) of the Balkans see Kekaumenos, 25, 26; Alexiade, II, 27, 30, 193; III, 104; Chronicle of Morea, lines 4708-9; 5332; 5361. On the drouggai, see below page 114-5.

found in other parts of the Empire, in katepanikia.[1] The purpose of the Greek oria was to keep open ports along the chief maritime routes, and to facilitate the collection of naval taxes, which paid for local naval forces. In the twelfth century there were oria of Athens, Thebes-Euripos, Larissa, Corinth-Nauplion-Argos and Patras-Methone, and in each one an archôn.[2] His duties may have included the collection of local customs and excise and the taxes associated with merchant shipping. Certainly the archontikion tax, which ship owners were forced to pay, seems to have been the responsibility of the archôn as the chief port authority.[3]

1. These twelfth century katepanikia must be differentiated from earlier ones, which were established in outlying parts of the Empire, such as Southern Italy, Edessa and Samosata. These were small provinces governed by an autonomous 'katepanô', e. g. in 1016 Basileios Bolanos was prôtospatharios and katepanô of Italy. But the military reforms of the Komnènoi abolished the old form of katepanikia and the title of katepanô. The term, however, was revived towards the end of the twelfth century and used to designate smaller fiscal units within the province. Why such areas should be called oria in Greece and katepanikia elsewhere remains a mystery; there does not appear to be any difference between the two. In the Partitio regni graeci the 'orium Larisse' and 'catepanikium de Eno' appear side by side, TT I, 484, 486. On the katepanikia, see M. Dendias, Symbolè eis tèn tès organiseô -s kai leitourgias tès dioikèseôs en tô Byzantinô Kratei peri tèn epochèn tès ypo tôn Phragkôn katalyseôs autou, Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi bizantini, Rome, 1953, II, 307-322; G. Theocharidès, Katepanikia tès Makedonias, Thessalonikè, 1954; Kyriakidès, Byzantinai Meletai, V, 549-50; Ahrweiler, Administration, 64-7, 86-7. On the oria, Zakythinos, Meletai, I, 248-53, 270-3; Ahrweiler, La Mer, 277-8.
2. On the re-organisation of provincial fleets see Ahrweiler, La Mer, 222-5. The oria are recorded in the Chrysobull of 1198 and the Partitio regni graeci, see TT I, 264, 265, 469, 483, 488. The Athènarchos (archôn of Athens) is mentioned in the Life of Osios Meletios, 32. The archôn of Thebes probably had responsibility for the Gulf of Euripos and the important port of Chalkis, i. e. acted as archôn of Thebes-Euripos, see Laurent, La Collection Orghidan, no. 236. A similar position, archôn of Nauplion-Argos is recorded on an unpublished seal, see Ahrweiler, op. cit. 58, note 2.
3. On the archontikion, see Actes de Lavra, no. 55 (1102); Ahrweiler, op. cit. 165. Cf. Appendix I, page 276.

Other titles such as dasmologos and architelônès may also indicate the position of archôn. [1]

Despite the existence of oria, the naval force which was supposed to protect coastal regions from piracy was not at all effective. As the official in charge was basically yet another tax collector sent to the provinces by the central administration, his primary task was to levy the plôimon tax and to collect the contributions (syndosiai) made towards the building and manning of boats (katergoktisia and exoplisis plôimôn). [2] Payment of these taxes in no way ensured protection as Michaèl Chôniatès was quick to point out. The inhabitants of Central Greece continued to suffer from regular pirate raids in which people were wounded, property damaged and supplies stolen. In 1198 the Metropolitan protested to the Emperor Alexios III in his famous Memorandum that the Athenians had not only paid the irregular contributions, but had also supplied sailors (plôimous) for naval duties, and still they had no local defence force. [3] On the island of Aigina, within sight of the port of Athens, unidentified pirates had installed a base. They imposed themselves on the local population, marrying the women forcibly, and made it impossible for Athenians to

1. The title of archôn is not recorded for twelfth century Greek ports; architelônès, however, is known from a letter of Euthymios Malakès, and dasmologos from the monody for Alexios Kontostephanos, see EM I, 49; Noctes Petropolitanae, 145. Cf. page 111 below.
2. The basic naval tax, plôimon, was levied regularly in all maritime parts of the Empire to pay for the Byzantine navy. Regional fleets were provided by extraordinary taxes, which covered the cost of ships (katergoktisia, ktisis karabiôn), crews (exelasis plôimôn), and their upkeep (mitaton, kathisma and doseis of all kinds). Both sets of taxes were collected by plôimologoi who worked under the direction of the drouggarios tou ploimou, see Ahrweiler, op. cit. 152, 212, 406. The archôn probably assisted the plôimologoi in his orion.
3. Ypomnèstikon eis ton Basilea Kyrion Alexion ton Komnènon, M. Ch. I, 307-11. See the new edition with notes by G. Stadmüller, Orientalia Christiana, no. 91, vol. 33, 1934, 283-305. On this tradition of personal service, which means that fiscalisation was not complete even in the late twelfth century, see Antoniades-Bibicou, Histoire Maritime, 39-43. On piracy in Central Greece, see M. Ch. I, 147, 245, 308, 315; II, 20, 42, 68, 84, 98-9 etc.

visit the island. [1]

Venetian, Longobard, Norman, Genoese and other pirates frequently attacked the Greek coastlands, not only in Central Greece, but at every point around the littoral. [2] The danger of pirates was made worse by the fact that the Italian republics and the Normans were generally at war with each other. Their rivalry often led to battles in Greek waters and to reprisals against towns where Italian communities were established. In 1155 some Venetian merchants were using ships captured from King Roger of Sicily, probably on the return from Greece in 1147. [3] Later, in the harbour of Almyros in Central Greece, a Genoese boat was burnt by Venetians. [4] Although the Greek population was not usually drawn into these quarrels, they were affected by the highly competitive activity of Italian merchants, who very often functioned as pirates as well. [5]

As a result of running down naval defences in the provinces, local sailors and seamen began to set up their own independent forces. [6] But they were handicapped both by the power of the orion-archontes, and by

1. Ibid. II, 43, 75.
2. Longobard pirates are mentioned specifically in M. Ch. I, 315, and in the eighth katèchèsis, see S. Lampros, Istoria tès poleôs tôn Athènôn, 1904-6, II, 702-3, 706. Corfu was attacked and occupied by Leone, a Venetian pirate, see TT II, 54-5; and the Genoese Gaffori was active in the Aegean, see N. Ch. 636-7; MM III, 46, 48-9. The most severe Norman raid was that on Thessalonikè, see Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica, 100, 106, 108.
3. Lombardo and Rocca, Nuovi Documenti, 14.
4. This event occurred during the war of 1171-2, when Venetian naval forces tried to revenge the hostile action of Manuel I. As the Genoese stood to benefit from any deterioration in Byzantine-Venetian relations they supported Manuel and therefore incurred reprisals by the Venetians, see Codice diplomata genovese, II, 215.
5. In 1193, for example, two Venetians announced the delay of their ship, the S. Marco, sailing from Thessalonikè to Kitros and Venice, because of Pisan hostilities, see Lombardo and Rocca, Documenti, I, 417.
6. The need for some effective maritime defence was felt as early as the 1070s in Paphlagonia, where an experienced sailor, Maurex, established his own fleet, see Alexiade, II, 52.

the commercial activity of the Italians. The city of Monemvasia, a rocky island barely attached to the South-East coast of Peloponnesos, developed a fleet which called at the port of Athens, probably for commercial reasons.[1] But Monemvasia was an exceptional city. It had established its independence from provincial and Constantinopolitan officials and was ruled by three powerful families. In 1147 it was the only port to withstand siege by the Normans, a tribute as much to its spectacular position as to well-organised defence.[2] In general there was little commercial or military shipping round the coasts of Central Greece, although fishermen must have continued to fish, boat-builders to build and sailors to sail.

So the population of Greece was left in an impossible position: it had to pay heavy taxes for maritime services previously provided by the local fleet, and yet there was absolutely no provincial defence. There is no reason to doubt the evidence of the Metropolitan of Athens, who recorded that the money payment for plôimoi and katergoktisia (sailors and ships) was levied three times in one year, and still the region was unprotected. He pointed out to the Emperor that those who lived in the orion of Thebes were exempt from these payments by an imperial chrysoboullon.[3] Michaèl obviously thought that his own area, the orion of Athens, should benefit from a similar privilege, as it was poorer than Thebes and therefore less able to sustain taxation. Not only had the

1. M. Ch. II, 137, mentions the nauklèros Katzaris with the Monembasiôti -kon ploion.
2. N. Ch. 97-8; Kinnamos, 91-2. Cf. W. Miller, Monemvasia, JHS XXVII, 1907, 229-42. The three families of Mamonas, Sophianos and Eudaimonoiôannès are not mentioned in connection with the siege of 1147, but it is reasonable to assume that they were already established in the city, see Chronicle of Morea, lines 2946-7.
3. M. Ch. I, 308; II, 106-7.

Athenians been forced to support this burden, but in addition the charges had not been calculated at the official rate set by the logothetès tou dromou, Iôannès Doukas, but had been levied at a higher rate by the plôimologoi. [1]

Byzantine Pronoia.

Whether he was correct or not in thinking that the Thebans were richer than his own people, it is likely that they were in a stronger position than the Athenians. With their important silk industry and the commercial activity of Thebes, they could demand exemption from taxation in the same way as the most powerful monasteries. [2] In the twelfth century Byzantine Emperors frequently granted charters to such institutions and to individuals who had to be placated and not alienated. This resulted in the imposition of most severe tax burdens on the poorest sections of society, an injustice which was observed by contemporaries. [3] This system of privileges and tax exemptions is intimately connected with the development of a new form of military land-tenure, the institution of pronoia. It provided a method of rewarding generals, allies and friends of the Emperor for a limited time. They were awarded grants of land which they held during their own lifetime or at the pleasure of the Emperor; the grant was always conditional and could be revoked at any moment. Emperors normally made these grants out of state land, allowing the beneficiary to take over the right of collecting state taxes in that area.

1. M. Ch. I, 310; II, 106.
2. The most important cities of the Empire were often highly privileged, see for example, the Chrysoboulla for Kerkyra (Corfu), Dölger, Regest. no. 1287, 1542-6.
3. It is clear in the writings of Michaèl Chôniatès, see for example, M. Ch. II, 48, 54.

In this way pronoia grants provided not only personal estates but also regular supplies in kind and in cash for the holder. [1]

Although grants remained theoretically temporary and dependent on the goodwill of the Emperor in the course of the thirteenth century they gradually became inheritable. This changed the institution of pronoia. But under the Komnènoi the conditional character of pronoia grants was firmly established. A Genoese ambassador, Baldovino Guercio, who held in pronoia a palace in Constantinople for twenty years was dispossessed by Alexios III in 1198/9. [2] In addition to grants of land, Manuel I encouraged a system of grants in peasant labour-force, paroikioi. [3] The two types of grant were closely linked as it was usually peasants registered on state lands, dèmosiarioi, who were ceded to a beneficiary. [4] Both methods of rewarding supporters had the same effect as charters of tax exemption - the gradual impoverishment of the Byzantine State. Resources were alienated from the Treasury into private pockets and even on a temporary basis this was bound to cause problems in the central administration.

There is no direct evidence of the effects of these developments in Central Greece. But the writings of Michaèl Chôniatès are not the only source of complaints about the poverty of agricultural communities in the region, and the injustice of the Byzantine tax system. These indirect results are documented by other twelfth century authors, of whom one of the most important is Euthymios Malakès, Metropolitan of Neai Patrai,

1. On the development of grants in pronoia, see G. Ostrogorsky, Pour l'histoire de la Féodalité byzantine, Brussels, 1954, 20-54; Lemerle, Esquisse, II, 263-5; idem. Terre militaire, 277-30.
2. A. Sanguineti and G. Bertolotto, Nuovi serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'Imperio bizantino, Atti della Società ligure de storia patria, XXVIII, 1896-7, 406-8, 454-64, 471.
3. See page 113, note 2 ; chapter IV, page 211 .
4. See G. Ostrogorsky, Quelques problèmes de la paysannerie byzantine, Brussels, 1956, 11-24 ; Lemerle, Esquisse, III, 82-6.

the ancient site of Ypatè in Thessaly.[1] Malakès belonged to the generation of Eustathios of Thessalonikè, who was Michaèl's teacher in the Patriarchal School at Constantinople.[2] He was appointed to the see of Neai Patrai some time before 1166, when Nikolaos Agiotheodôrites was Metropolitan of Athens.[3] As he was probably at least 20 years older than Michaèl, Euthymios tended to adopt a rather patronising tone when advising the younger Metropolitan on the management of his diocese. Yet behind this tone it is possible to detect perhaps a hint of jealousy, because Michaèl had been appointed to the much older and more famous see of Athens.[4]

The letters of Euthymios Malakès date from a period of roughly 40 years, from 1166 to 1205, by which time the see of Neai Patrai had been captured by the Crusaders and its Metropolitan had fled or was already dead.[5] It is impossible to date more closely those letters to provincial functionaries, which refer to the same sort of malpractices observed by Michaèl. One addressed to Bardas, the architelônès, is particularly revealing.[6] The Metropolitan complained that this official had been sending to the army all the least suitable candidates: he had

1. The writings of Malakès are edited in two volumes by K. Mponès, Athens, 1937-49, hereafter cited as EM. Several letters and three important addresses are published in Noctes Petropolitanae, cf. J. Darrouzès, Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès, REB XXIII, 1965, 148-67.
2. EM I, 9-11; R. Browning, The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century, B XXXII, 1962, 190-3; M. Ch. I, 347-9; II, 8-10.
3. Kinnamos, 251-2; N. Ch. 430. The exact dates of the appointments of both Nikolaos and Euthymios are unknown; their first recorded appearance is at the Synod of 1166, see Nikètas Chôniatès, Thesaurus Orthodoxae Fidei, PG CXL, col. 255A.
   See also, V. Grumel, La Titulature de Métropolites byzantins, Mémorial L. Petit, Bucharest, 1948, 152-84.
4. J. Darrouzès, Notice sur Grégoire Antiochos (1160 a 1196), REB XX, 1962, 78.
5. EM I, 83-94 = Noctes Petropolitanae, 115-24. On this epitaphios for Euthymios, see also J. Darrouzès, REB XXIII, 1965, 152, 163.
6. EM I, 49-50.

chosen poor farming men, totally inexperienced in the art of war. If the philanthropic Emperor saw it, said Euthymios, he would send these men straight back to their farms. Bardas ought to have chosen young, strong men, skilled in fighting and used to bearing weapons of iron; those who have revealed true manly qualities in warfare. The letter continues with an attack on the tax collectors in the region of Neai Patrai. The Metropolitan claimed that through the activities of such officials the poor people of his diocese had been reduced to unimaginable conditions, conditions worse than his most terrible nightmares. He was no longer able to protect them, for the clergy had also suffered at the hands of tax collectors. Everyone had been robbed of the means of survival by the sordid love of gain and profit which drove men like Bardas, and for their merciless rapacity they would suffer.

This letter is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it establishes that enforced enrolment in provincial forces, probably confined to castle and garrison duties, was still going on. The architelônès had power to make farmers leave their homes to join up, and their lands were confiscated as soon as they were gone. It suggests that the practice of official visitations to the villages in order to recruit was still observed. Provincial administrators still had to make sure that military positions were manned, and they used this duty to their own advantage. It seems clear that personal service was required, not a cash payment, although this may have been the result of the farmers' inability to buy their way out of service. The result of the process was nonetheless an impoverishment of the rural population, a development which was encouraged by other factors.

Secondly, Euthymios mentions a specific campaign to reduce and

appropriate the resources of the Church.[1] He ordered the architelônès to return ecclesiastical funds, probably of both secular and lay clergy, pointing out that the Church needed money to alleviate the misery of the destitute and homeless. Without much conviction, he asked whether Bardas was not humbled and shamed by the tears of these poor labouring men who had no high rank or position. This confirms that in the second half of the twelfth century, ranks in society and employment in the administration were a most effective means of protection against the rapacity of tax collectors. (Obviously a charter guaranteeing total exemption from taxes was the very best way). The poor who had no access to rank or jobs, suffered increasing burdens of taxation which could not be met, and when they were reduced to complete poverty, they became dependent on ecclesiastical charity. It is clear that those who could support taxation were also in a position to avoid paying. But the tax collectors who made profits out of tax farming were the real beneficiaries of this situation.[2]

1. Ibid. See also 73-4, where he claims that some churchmen and monks have been forced to put on military uniforms instead of clerical robes.
2. People always sought the indications of imperial favour and status in society which came with rank and employment. Despite prohibitions on the sale of offices, those with means continually tried to buy positions and pensions. This was relatively easy under the Aggeloi who are reported to have sold titles as merchants sell fruit in the market-place, see N. Ch. 599. That they were generally eager to enroll in the imperial administration is illustrated by the ease with which Manuel I persuaded people to join the army: he offered to reward soldiers with gifts of paroikoi, dependent peasants who would work for the military. Although the status of a stratiôtès was no longer very prestigious, there was no shortage of volunteers, because the position was connected with service in the imperial bureaucracy, N. Ch. 272. Cf. Lemerle, Terre militaire, 272-4.

Behind the rhetorical style of these complaints lies a solid piece of evidence indicating that provincial life was already at the mercy of tax officials. This fact is amply supported by the specific abuses reported by Michaèl Chôniatès in the Memorandum to Alexios III written in 1198. [1] One of these, which relates to the military organisation of the orion of Athens, is particularly significant. Michaèl pointed out that part of the poverty in Attika was caused by the decline of villages and rural farmland. When these were taken over by kastrènoi, inhabitants of the kastron of Athens, the Acropolis, people in the countryside were dispossessed and deprived of their livelihood. [2] He connected this process with the destruction of the drouggai, which, he claimed, had engendered an overall decline of the orion. The term drouggos has been the subject of many learned studies, which associate it either with a geographical formation like a kleisoura (mountain pass), or with a military body employed to guard a pass. [3] The

1. See above, page 103, note 3.
2. M. Ch. I, 310-1. On the kastrènoi, see Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, 299-300; D. Jacoby, La Féodalité en Grèce. Les "Assises de Romanie", sources, application et diffusion, Paris, 1971, 254-5. The origin of this term may perhaps be sought in sygkastritès, used by Kekaumenos to designate the inhabitants of the kastron of Larissa, Kekaumenos, 69. In addition to the parallels between kastrènoi of Athens and the people living in the kastron of Ochrid or Ioannina noted above, there seems to be an even closer similarity with the 'Corphiati castrini' or 'castrenses' citizens of the kastron of Corfu, see C. Perrat and J. Longnon, Actes relatifs à la Principauté de Morée, 1289-1300, Paris, 1967, 81. This latin document of 1294 preserves the terms of Isaac II's chrysobull for the inhabitants of Corfu. Even in the twelfth century they seem to have been divided into 'castrini' and 'exocastrini', although the former do not appear to have enjoyed special privileges.
3. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, 301-5, lists the relevant bibliography and chooses the military interpretation. Ahrweiler, La Mer, 278-9, note 3 particularly, concludes that the drouggai in Greece were a local militia, which took its name from the mountainous hinterland, but insists that the term drouggos is a geographic one, not administrative.

two senses are obviously closely connected. Here Michaèl uses the term in its military sense, referring to the failure of local defence, which clearly would bring about the general destruction of the region. The drouggai were bands of soldiers recruited locally to guard military positions, both castles, inland passes and coastal sites of importance. The farmers forced into military service by Bardas might well have been assigned to a drouggos. Michaèl's connection of drouggai and rural farmlands (staseis chôriatikas) suggests that both involved land cultivation, and it was the decline of cultivation that brought destruction. This is not to imply that the drouggai held some sort of strateia in the ninth century sense of the term. But it is possible that local militias took over the land where they were stationed and used it for their everyday supplies of corn, wine, oil and other necessities. Michaèl does not indicate that it was a military failure which engendered the poverty of the orion; he reports that this poverty was due to the kastrènoi taking over villages and farmlands, and to the destruction of the drouggai, lands cultivated by local soldiers. This destruction was undoubtedly brought about by people like the kastrènoi, the rich and titled, who had no need to continue cultivation but let the farmlands decline into waste land. This surely is the significance of the process described by Michaèl.

In conclusion, it is possible to see in the decline of the themata forces the beginning of a process that would ruin the provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Other factors were also at work, tending in the same direction of centralisation, fiscalisation and subordination of provincial administration to the needs of the capital. But the military crisis of the eleventh century which led to the abandonment of provincial armies and fleets, involved a complete change in the social and economic conditions of the Empire, which are discussed in chapter IV.

4. Civil Administration in Central Greece in the Twelfth Century.

As a result of Alexios I's reforms the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos was governed in the twelfth century by the megas doux. Only a few of these naval commanders appear to have exercised real control, so the civilian governors were usually left in undisputed authority over the region. In certain areas, however, direct naval control was instituted - in the subdivisions of the province known as oria. These small units were governed by archontes appointed by the megas doux to maintain provincial naval detachments and to collect maritime taxes. [1]

Apart from the orion-archontes, whose authority was restricted to a small area round each major port, there was no rival to the civilian governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos. During the twelfth century the titles kritès, anthypatos and praitôr were all used to designate this position. The first emphasises the judicial and purely civilian nature of the governorship; it derives from the earlier provincial judge, kritès tou thematos. In the twelfth century it was often combined with the title of judge of the Hippodrome, kritès epi tou Ippodromou, indicating that one of the permanent judges had been temporarily released from duties in the capital to hold a provincial governorship. These kritai were more important officials than those who governed the province with the simple title of kritès Peloponnèsou kai Ellados. Both were appointed for a limited period, but the Constantinopolitan judges had permanent positions in the judiciary. The latter probably held subordinate positions in one of the departments of the central administration. [2]

1. On the oria and similar units, see section 3, page 105; section 5, page 166.
2. Ahrweiler, Administration, 71; Kyriakidès, Byzantinai Meletai, IV, 350-2; 178; Banescu, op. cit. 390. The title, kritès epi tou Ippodromou, is recorded on the seals of several governors, Theophanes, Basileios, Theodoros; that of kritès Peloponnèsou kai Ellados, is known from many sources including Kekaumenos, 73, as well as from seals. For both officials, see the list of governors, page 125.

It has been suggested that the titles anthypatos and praitôr were recorded chiefly by literary writers of the twelfth century and represent archaic expressions which were no longer in general use.[1] This is probably true of anthypatos, an honorary title closely associated with the patrician rank (patrikios), which had declined throughout the eleventh century.[2] Although there is evidence of promotion from the relatively lowly rank of ypatos to that of anthypatos, both positions depreciated rapidly after the creation of a new hierarchy of rank by Alexios I.[3] The use of anthypatos, recorded in the Life of Osios Meletios, does not, therefore, reflect twelfth century terminology. Similarly, when Michaèl Chôniatès attributed the title to Alexios Komnènos Bryennios, he is attempting to invoke a past glory rather than recording a contemporaneous fact.[4]

The title of praitôr, however, is known from other sources. The fact that the seals of administrators of Ellas and Peloponnesos record this title suggest that it was officially recognised. It was not restricted to Central Greece; governors of other Western 'themata' were also called praitores.

1. Ahrweiler, op. cit. 76.
2. R. Guilland, Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin; Proconsul. REB XV, 1957, 5-41.
3. Kônstantinos, "patrikios ypatos, bestès, anagrapheus" of Bulgaria was promoted to the position of "patrikios anthypatos, bestarchès and pronoetes" of Bulgaria, see R. Guilland, Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin. Le logariaste, ὁ λογαριαστής ; le megas logariaste, ὁ μέγας λογαριαστής ; JOBG XVIII, 1969, 104. On the new hierarchy of court titles and the resulting changes in Byzantine society, see Bryennios, 129; Attaleiatès, 274; Zonaras, III, 765-6; Alexiade, I, 113-4.
4. Life of Osios Meletios, 53, 39, 62; M. Ch. I, 338.

In the same way as kritès it represented the old judicial authority in the province, now expanded to cover all aspects of civilian administration. [1]

i. The role of the governor.

The governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos controlled provincial administration from his residence at Thebes. His authority was recognised from the Vale of Tempe to Sparta (Lakedaimonia), that is, throughout the provinces of Ellas and Peloponnesos. [2] Governors were appointed for a three year term of office, and should have succeeded each other in a continuous line, but it is very difficult to establish a complete list of twelfth century officials. There were periods when no governor appears to have been in residence. Others did not always take up their appointment, and some made a brief visit to the province and returned to Constantinople. Despite laws forbidding absenteeism, many governors preferred to live in the capital, sending a deputy to run the administration. [3] As the governorships of European provinces were not generally salaried, this abuse was comprehensible. But it probably contributed to a debasement of the position of governor.

As the Emperor's representative in the province, the governor was responsible for public taxation, legal matters, local economy and defence. To supervise these different sectors he was assisted by a large body of officials, some appointed from Constantinople, others nominated by the governor himself. Once they arrived in the province they were all under

1. Sigillographie, 111, 241; Banescu, op. cit. 392. An unpublished document from the monastery of Esphigmenou reveals the existence of an official called Euthymios who combined the post of praitôr with that of anagrapheus. This act of August, 1095, will be published shortly by J. Lefort in the Acts of Esphigmenou.
2. Ahrweiler, La Mer, 86 cf. 277; M. Ch. I, 177; II, 137. Other letters suggest that the praitôr did not live in Athens, ibid. II, 67-8; 87; 129-31.
3. Zepos, Jus GR V, 104; M. Ch. II, 81-4. On the governor's deputy, see below page 121-2.

under his control. This complete subordination, when combined with absenteeism among governors, accounts for the disfunction of provincial administration which was so common in the twelfth century. If the person in authority was not in the province, junior officials were able to organise things to their own advantage. The highly centralised Byzantine administration could only function efficiently with tight control over the provinces.

This control was sometimes lacking but there is no doubt that it was the preserve of the praitor as governor. The wide scope of his duties and powers can be assessed from many references in the writings of Michaèl Chôniatès. These reveal the governor's ability to raise or lower the rate of taxation; his power to protect the poor, to support the law-abiding population and to resist pirate attacks. [1] Michaèl indicates the governor's attempt to interfere in the administration of ecclesiastical property and his disregard for the privileges of the Church of Athens. [2] At the same time he recognised the civil governor's authority in judicial questions which concerned church officials. [3] From these references it is clear that the individual governor could be responsible for major improvements in provincial administration, and conversely for neglect and destruction. This explains why the Metropolitan should have taken so much trouble to keep his influential friends at court informed about the situation in Central Greece. Only by campaigning for the appointment of an honest governor could he envisage any improvement in the province.

When he first arrived in Athens in 1182, he was obviously surprised not only by the primitive conditions in the region, but also by the

1. M. Ch. I, 308, 310; II, 42, 43, 54, 66.
2. Ibid. I, 309; II, 107, 131.
3. Ibid. II, 137.

oligarchy of rich people and the insatiable greed of tax collectors. [1] He singled out these two particular evils, which he claimed, were exacerbated by the praktores. These officials were responsible for the distribution of taxation and for levying extraordinary taxes and services (epèreiai), so they were in a position to favour their friends and the most powerful people. It was obviously the activity of praktores which caused greatest hardship among the poor. [2]

During the brief reign of Andronikos I Komnènos, reforms were introduced to correct this situation. For the first time provincial governors were chosen for their suitability and were paid an adequate salary. [3] A general remission of outstanding taxation was ordered. This actually took place under Alexios II but it was probably decided by Andronikos, while he was nominally Regent for the young Emperor. [4] Finally, the newly-appointed governors were sent out to make a complete revision of provincial tax lists, so that a fair distribution of taxes could be established. [5]

The results, in Greece at least, were most effective. A new governor, Nikèphoros Prosouch, arrived to be feted by Michaèl as a deliverer from all evils. [6] For once the expectations of the Metropolitan were fully justified: Prosouch immediately set about surveying provincial conditions and tax records. A new tax register (katastichon) was drawn up, which

1. M. Ch. I, 174; II, 12.
2. Ibid. II, 43, 54. Cf. Kekaumenos, 103.
3. N. Ch. 429. On Andronikos' reforms in general, see C. M. Brand, Byzantium confronts the West, 1180-1204, Cambridge Mass. 1968, 61-6.
4. M. Ch. II, 54. Cancellation of tax debts (ekkopè) was not unusual, especially at the beginning of a reign, see J. Darrouzès, Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle, Paris, 1960, no. 47 (section IX).
5. M. Ch. II, 54.
6. Ibid. I, 142-9.

would have ensured that the orion of Athens would have been measured and assessed at the correct, that is, standard, rate. But despite Prosouch's order (orismos) which would have introduced the new register, it was never used. The central administration refused to inscribe the orismos on the Constantinopolitan records, and thereby refused to make the katastichon valid. Michaèl complained bitterly about this, accusing Choumnos, an influential official in the capital, of sabotaging the reform. Choumnos has behaved just like a praktôr, he said, giving tax relief to the powerful, while the poor have not yet benefitted from the general remission of taxes. He also blamed the local praktores and anagraphea for this failure. [1]

Nonetheless, under Prosouch and his successor Dèmètrios Drimys, there was an improvement in the administration of the province. Michael claimed that Drimys, a judge who later became prôtasèkrètis, had given the Greeks a taste for justice and the strict enforcement of laws, which they missed when he went back to Constantinople. Although he had been an excellent governor, Drimys felt that one term of office was enough. Throughout the second he stayed in the capital and local praktores took over the administration. Michael found their practises incompatible with just government and regretted that he was unable to restrain their selfish ambition. [2]

It was probably at this time, when Drimys was in Constantinople, that Ellas and Peloponnesos was administered by an antipraitôr, an interim, or substitute governor. According to the Metropolitan this official brought nothing but destruction to the province, levying excessive and arbitrary

1. M. Ch. II, 43, 54, 66.
2. Ibid. I, 157-79; II, 81-4, especially 83.

taxes and reducing the Athenians to total misery. He begged Dèmètrios Tornikès to prevent the appointment of further antipraitores and urged him to send out a proper governor, hoping to revive the administration of Prosouch and Drimys.[1] The antipraitôr probably filled the same role as the ypodoux of Thessalonikè, who was appointed, according to Eustathios, to prevent disturbances in the city between the coming and going of governors, doukoi. Thessalonikè, which was a much larger and more important city than Athens, also had an ypopraktôr and yparchos, interim praktôr and archôn.[2] The antipraitores may have been appointed from Constantinople or from among the local officials, who were already familiar with the administration. In either case they appear to have enriched themselves at the expense of the population. Their depredations were so severe that Michaèl looked back with longing to the halcyon days of governors Prosouch and Drimys. The administration of the province under Andronikos I became his ideal of good government; no subsequent official ever lived up to that ideal.

Imperial policy under the Aggeloi was to reserve the most lucrative offices of government for relatives and friends, and to sell the rest to the highest bidder.[3] This naturally caused a deterioration in provincial administration, for officials who had paid for their positions were unlikely to spend long in far-flung regions of the Empire, unless there was some particular local speciality to attract them. In addition the central administration made no attempt to deal with provincial problems, for

1. M. Ch. II, 65-6; cf. Brand, op. cit. 105-6.
2. Eustathios, De Simulatione, PG 136, col. 376; O. Tafrali, Thessalonique au 14e siècle, Paris, 1913, 51.
3. N. Ch. 584, 599.

example, pirate raiding in the Aegean, unless they actually threatened the capital. Alexios III issued an order forbidding the sale of offices and making appointment free and by merit, but public positions could still be bought by anyone with ready money. [1] Provincial governorships were auctioned at frequent intervals, so that those who bought the title could send their brief term of "office" living off their province's produce. Government became open exploitation and the contrast between the sumptuous standard of living at the court and deprivation in the provinces became more marked. There can have been no continuity of administration in Central Greece except that of plunder. [2]

The sole governor recorded in this period is Nikolaos Tripsychos, prôtonotarios of one of the central departments of the administration. Michaèl wrote to him on his arrival at Thebes, explaining that he was unable to greet the new governor in person because one of his nephews had recently been wounded by pirates. [3] This was symptomatic of the decline in local defence and provincial administration. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Tripsychos' government of Ellas and Peloponnesos. He may have been the last full-time governor; the behaviour of subsequent anonymous praitores does not suggest that they were in any way concerned about the area. [4]

The deterioration of central control gave local officials a free hand in the administration of the province. Not only the praktores but

1. N. Ch. 639, records that Skythians and Syrians were buying the title of sebastos with silver.
2. M. Ch. II, 83.
3. Ibid. II, 67-8.
4. Ibid. I, 307-11; II, 103, 105, 106-7, 110, 131, 137.

also some individuals were able to take advantage of the situation. In the Argolis, Leôn Sgouros gradually established his own principality, levying taxes and forcing local people to join his army. [1] Some anonymous 'leaders' (archontes) in Boiotia opposed a governor who wanted to visit Euboia: they prevented him from crossing the narrow strip of land and forced him back to Thebes. [2] It is hardly surprising in these circumstances that Michaèl Chôniatès should complain of a great increase in taxation and in oppression in general, pirate raids and internal strife. Rural people suffered more from this lawlessness than the urban population, who were at least protected by city walls. [3]

Despite the fact that Michaèl only reports the situation in Attika, conditions were probably very similar throughout the Balkans. Thessaly was overrun by Manuel Kamytzès and the Vlach leader Chrysos in 1201, and further north the Bulgars were in revolt. [4] Although Alexios III managed to restore imperial authority in Thessaly, provincial government was almost non-existent. The complete failure of Constantinople to control life in the provinces through its governors was highlighted by the Crusaders' advance into Greece. From Thessalonikè to Lakedaimonia the sole organised opposition to the Latins came from individuals and city communities; there was no trace of a provincial administration. [5]

1. M. Ch. I, 308; II, 170; N. Ch. 801. As late as 1198-9 Sgouros was levying the plôimon tax, although it is not clear whether he was acting as an agent of the governor or not, see Brand, op. cit. 152-4. By 1202 he had captured Argos and Corinth and had recruited a large army.
2. M. Ch. I, 315-6.
3. Ibid. II, 98-9; 103, 105, 106-7.
4. N. Ch. 675-6, 707-9.
5. Opposition to the Crusading forces was organised by archontes such as Leôn Sgouros, Chalkoutzès, Chamaretos and Doxopatrès, and cities, among them, Larissa, Thebes and Euripos.

Governors of the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos.

A.	Before Alexios I's naval reforms.	
1.	Nikèphoros (Nikèphoritzès), kritès, dikastès, praitôr	1050-75
2.	Nikèphoros Botaneiatès, prôtoproedros, doux	before 1078
3.	Kônstantinos, kritès	c. 1050-80
4.	Nikolaos, kritès,	c. 1050-80
5.	Theophanès, kritès	c. 1050-80
6.	Theodôros, kritès	c. 1050-80
7.	Theodôros, stratègos	c. 1050-80
8.	Eustathios, kritès	c. 1050-80
B.	After the naval reforms.	
9.	Kônstantinos Choirosphaktès, praitôr	1088-1105
10.	Basileios, kritès	1080-1180
11.	Epiphanios Kamatèros, anthypatos	before 1105
12.	Bardas Ikanatos, anthypatos, praitôr	1094-1105
13.	Leôn Nikèritès, anthypatos, stratègos	before 1105
14.	Eumathios Philokalès, megas doux, praitôr	1108-18
15.	Basileios Xeros, kritès	1143-80
16.	Petros Serblias, kritès	1143-80
17.	Basileios Erotikos, kritès	1080-1180
18.	Iôannès Agiotheodôritès, praitôr	1143-80
19.	Alexios Komnènos Bryennios, megas doux, anthypatos	c. 1148-61
20.	Alexios Aristènos, "megistès ègemôn"	before 1166
21.	Alexios Kontostephanos,	c. 1167
22.	Nikèphoros Prosouch, praitôr	c. 1182-3
23.	Dèmètrios Drimys, praitôr	c. 1183-5
24.	Nikolaos Tripsychos, praitôr	c. 1186-7
25.	Anonymous, praitôr	c. 1197-8

26.	Michaèl Stryphnos, megas doux	c. 1201-2
27.	Kônstantinos Maurikas, praitôr	before 1204

Other officials of Ellas and Peloponnesos.

28.	Grègorios Kamatèros, prôtopraitôr	1073-1118
29.	Nikèphoros Chalouphès, commander of Acrocorinth	1147
30.	Bardas, architelônès	1170-1200
31.	Tessarakontapèchys, praktôr	c. 1182
32.	Iôannès Maurozômès, commander in Peloponnesos	1185
33.	Geôrgios (Sergios) Kolymbas, anagrapheus	1190-1204
34.	Basileios Pikridès, logariastès	1190-1204
35.	Leôn Chamaretos, proedros	1203-4
36.	Leôn Sgouros, sebastouypertatos	1203-4

This list is by no means complete and will be extended by further research. It has been drawn up as a contribution to the prosopography pf the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos.

1. Nikèphoros (Nikèphoritzès).

At the time of the fall of Romanos IV and the proclamation of Michael VII (August 1071), Nikèphoros is recorded as kritès and dikastès of Ellas and Peloponnesos. His nickname Nikèphoritzès is explained by the fact that he first held office when he was very young. He came from the family of Boukellarioi and became logothetès and the most influential adviser of Michael VII, see Attaleiatès, 180-2; Skylitzès, 706; Zonaras III, 707-8; Kekaumenos, 73. He is almost certainly the same person as Nikèphoritzès, praitôr of Ellas and Peloponnesos, to whom Psellos wrote, see Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè, V, 344-6, letter 103. Cf. Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin, Appendice II, no. 52.

2. Nikèphoros Botaneiatès.

The future Emperor's titles of prôtoproedros and doux of Ellas and Peloponnesos are recorded on his seal published by G. Beglerès, cf. page 86, note 3. This seal has been republished by Laurent, La Collection Orghidan, no. 235. See also Bon, loc. cit. no. 53.

3. Kônstantinos.

The seal of Kônstantinos "prôtospatharios asèkrètis prôtonotarios kai kritès Peloponnèsou kai Ellados" was published by A. Mordtmann, RA XXXIV, 1877, 50, no. 23. Provincial protônotarioi became less common during the twelfth eentury, see Finanzverwaltung, 69-70, but Kônstantinos may have been prôtonotarios of one of the central administration bureaus. Cf. Nikolaos Tripsychos, no. 24. As the title of prôtospatharios also declined after 1081, it would be reasonable to place this official in the period 1050 to 1080. See Bon, loc. cit. no. 43.

4. Nikolaos.

This official is also known by his seal, "spatharokandidatos asèkrètis kritès Peloponnèsou kai Ellados", published by N. Bees, VV XXI, 1914, 214-5, no. 30. Bees identified him with the judge Nikolaos mentioned in the Life of S. Nikôn, a tenth century source. But as Bon, loc. cit. no. 55, pointed out, this is impossible.

5. Theophanès.

Two seals with al most identical legends record the titles of Theophanès as "spatharokandidatos asèkrètis kritès epi tou Ippodromou Peloponnèsou kai Ellados", see Mordtmann, op. cit. 50, no. 22; no. 21 lacks "asèkrètis." Cf. Sigillographie, 189, no. 4; Bon, loc. cit. no. 59.

6. Theodôros.

Schlumberger published the seal of Theodôros " spatharios megalos chartoularios tou genikou logothesiou kritès epi tou Ippodromou Peloponnèsou kai Ellados epi tôn deèseôn", Sigillographie, 191, no. 7. It was reproduced by Bees, op. cit. 221-3, who identified the owner as Theodôros Kastamonitès, uncle of Isaac II. Although Michaèl Chôniatès addressed a request for assistance to Theodôros, "megistès logothetès", there is no evidence that he was actually an official of the province, see M. Ch. II, 69-72; Bon, loc. cit. no. 58. Another seal which records nearly the same titles, viz." prôtospatharios epi tou chrysotriklinion, megalos chartoularios tou genikou logothesiou kai kritès epi tou Ippodromou Peloponnèsou kai Ellados", might be attributed to Theodôros. Cf. Bon, loc. cit. 60.

7. Theodôros.

Lampros published the seal of Theodôros "prôtopraitôr kai stratigos", in Ai Athènai peri ta telè tou dôdekatou aiônos, 25, note 4. This was corrected by Schlumberger to "prôtospatharios kai stratigos", the normal title for stratègoi, see Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine, 225, no. 46. Bees wanted to identify this Theodôros with no. 6 above, but the two appear to be quite distinct. No. 6 was probably an administrator while no. 7 seems to have been one of the last known stratègoi of

the province. Cf. Bees, op. cit. 222-3; Bon, loc. cit. no. 57.

8. Eustathios.

A. Mordtmann published the seal of Eustathios "basilikos prôtospatharios epi tou chrysotriklinou mystographos kritès epi tou Ippodromou Peloponnèsou kai Ellados", op. cit. 51, no24. This was identified by Schlumberger, and following him by Bees, as belonging to Eumathios Philokalès, see Sigillographie, 188-9, note 4, no. 6; Bees, op. cit. 230. It seems more likely that Eustathios was a separate individual. None of his titles fit entirely with the established career of Eumathios, megas doux, cf. no. 14. But see also Bon, loc. cit. no. 48.

9. Kônstantinos Choirosphaktès.

Kônstantinos is known as signatory to several imperial documents of the 1080s, see MM VI, 45, 49, 53. Bryennios mentions him as "proedros" and "proedros kai katepanô tôn axiômatôn". He served as ambassador for Nikèphoros Botaneiatès and became the "oikeios anthrôpos" of Alexios I, see Bryennios, 130; Alexiade, I, 133-4.
The Life of Osios Meletios records his presence in Central Greece, and his seal gives him the title "praitôr", see Life of Osios Meletios, 34; A. Mordtmann, op. cit. 48, no. 18; Sigillographie, 188, no. 1; 636; Bees, op. cit. 224-5, no. 36. The Choirosphaktès family came from Greece, see chapter IV, page 200; cf. Bon, loc. cit. no. 44.

10. Basileios.

Basileios is known from his seal as "prôtospatharios epi tou chrysotriklinou mystographos kritès epi tou Ippodromou Peloponnèsou kai Ellados", see Sigillographie, 191, no. 5. These titles are sufficiently different to distinguish him from other officials called Basileios, although Bees wanted to attribute this seal to either Erotikos or Xèros, op. cit. 226-8, no. 37. Laurent, Bulles Metriques, no. , corrected the original reading of "chartoularios tou genikou logothesiou" to "mystographos", cf. Bon, loc. cit. nos. 39, 60.

11. Epiphanios Kamatèros.

Epiphanios governed the province as anthypatos, see the Life of Osios Meletios, 53. But a seal which may belong to him records the titles of "proedros kai eparchos", see Kônstantopoulos, JIAN VI, 1903, 334, no. 345. And another refers to Epiphanios as "spatharokandidatos kai tourmarchès", ibid. 60, no. 234. It is unclear whether these seals should be attributed to the governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos. For attempts to sort out this character (or these characters) see Bon, loc. cit. no. 47.

12. Bardas Ikanatos.

Bardas is also recorded as anthypatos of Ellas and Peloponnesos in the Life of Osios Meletios, 59. And he is known as praitôr from a document of 1094, which identifies him as "megalepiphanestatos kouropalatès", see MM VI, 93. His seal records his position as praitôr, Mordtmann, op. cit. 48-9, no. 19; Sigillographie, 118, no. 4; 669, no. 1; Bees, op. cit. 215-7, no. 31; Bon loc. cit. no. 38.

13. Leôn Nikèritès.

Leôn is known as both anthypatos and stratègos in the Life of Osios Meletios, 60-2, and he probably held these titles some time before 1105 because he was earlier prôtoproedros and anagrapheus of Peloponnesos (presumably before this province was united with Ellas). On this official see Bon, loc. cit. nos. 21 and 51.

14. Eumathios Philokalès.

As megas doux Eumathios was also governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos, as his seals record: "magistros megas doux kai praitôr Ellados kai Peloponnèsou", see Mordtmann, op. cit. 49, no. 20; Sigillographie, 188-9 no. 3; Bees, op. cit. 229, nos. 39a and 39b. A document of 1118 also mentions his office, MM VI, 96, and he is known to have been "stratopedarchos kai doux Kyprou" (another naval region) in 1108, see Alexiade, III, 34, 44, 142-6, 148, 154. Another Eumathios Philokalès lived at the end of the twelfth century and held the important position of eparchos of Constantinople, see N. Ch. 630-1. Despite much confusion there is no need to muddle these two persons. Nor is it necessary to attribute to the second any official position in the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos. Cf. Bon, loc. cit. no. 48.

15. Basileios Xèros.

Basileios was an ambassador of Manuel I in Sicily in the early part of the reign (1146-7), but it is not known whether he held the position of "bestarchès kai kritès Peloponnèsou kai Ellados" before or after, see Kinnamos, 91-2; Mordtmann, op. cit. 51, no. 25; Sigillographie, 189, 715; Bees, op. cit. 228. The Xèros family was well established in Central Greece, see chapter IX, page 199. But Basileios may not be the same person to whom Psellos wrote, "proedros kai kritès" of the Thrakèsion province, see Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè, V, nos. 54, 57. Cf. Bon, loc. cit. no. 42.

16. Petros Serblias.

This official is known only from two seals, which identify him as "magistros bestitôr kritès Peloponnèsou kai Ellados", see Sigillographie, 190, no. 4, 698; Bees, op. cit. 223-4. Other members

of the family are recorded in the eleventh century, for example, Iôannès Serblias, a correspondent of Theophylaktos of Ochrid, see PG 126, col. 321, no8; Sigillographie, 698.

17. Basileios Erotikos.

Two seals recording the position of this Basileios as "kritès epi tès Ellados kai Peloponnèsou" have been published by Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 191-2, nos. 8 and 25. They are dated to the period of the Komnènoi but no more closely. This official might be identical with Basileios no. 10, cf. Bees, op. cit. 227; Bon, loc. cit. no. 41.

18. Iôannès Agiotheodôritès.

The appointment of Iôannès as praitôr of Ellas and Peloponnesos is recorded rather as if he had been sent into exile, see N. Ch. 78. But Grumel has pointed out that he was probably the brother of Nikolaos Agiotheodôritès, ypertimos and metropolitan of Athens from c. 1166 to 1175. So Iôannès may have gone to Central Greece for family reasons, see V. Grumel, Mémorial L. Petit, Bucarest 1948, 160.

19. Alexios Komnènos Bryennios.

Michaèl Chôniatès recalls the fact that Alexios held the title of anthypatos while he was megas doux, M. Ch. I, 336, 338. He also suggests that as governor of the province Alexios was much appreciated by the inhabitants. But as he was speaking some forty years after the event, this evidence should perhaps be discounted. Alexios, the grandson of Anna Komnènè and Nikèphoros Bryennios, had a successful career in both military and naval commands, although as megas doux he was captured by William I of Sicily in 1156, see N. Ch, 125; Kinnamos 165-8. In c. 1148 he was doux Dyrrachiou kai Achridas, and his position in Greece should be dated between 1148 and 1161 when he was sent to Antioch.

20. Alexios Aristènos.

Alexios' appointment to Ellas and Peloponnesos is recorded in a letter of Theodoros Prodromos, who refers to him as "megistès ègemôn", PG 133, col. 1274. This was not his official title but he was probably governor of the province nonetheless. On the dual ecclesiastical and civil careers of Alexios, see Darrouzès, Tornikai, 53-7. His position in Greece must be dated before 1161 when died or became a monk.

21. Alexios Kontostephanos.

Euthymios Malakès records the fact that Alexios was governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos in the Monody composed after his death in c. 1176, see Noctes Petropolitanae, 145, 151. He probably held this position between 1156, when he was doux tôn Thrakesiôn, and received a letter from Geôrgios Tornikès, and c. 1176, see Darrouzès, Tornikai 57-62. He should not be confused with Alexios Kontostephanos, proclaimed Emperor in 1195, cf. Ahrweiler, TM I, 131-2.

22. Nikèphoros Prosouch.

Nikèphoros was the first praitôr sent to Central Greece after Michaèl Chôniatès' appointment to the see of Athens in 1182. The Metropolitan composed a long speech of welcome which listed many of the abuses in provincial administration to be corrected by the new governor, see M. Ch. I, 142-9. Prosouch appears to have been partially successful, ibid. II, 54, 66; cf. chapter III, page 120. This official may be the same person as Nikèphoros Prosouch, ambassador and adviser of ManuelI, at the time of the Third Crusade, see Kinnamos, 33-5, 71; N. Ch. 71, 85. Lampros is in favour of the identification despite the gap of nearly forty years between the first and last reference, see M. Ch. II, 455,

23. Dèmètrios Drimys.

Dèmètrios twice held the office of governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos, but during his second term he remained in Constantinople, see M. Ch. I, 157-79; II, 66, 81-4. He is addressed as "dikastès" and praitôr by the Metropolitan, and later as "prôtasèkrètis", a position he occupied at the capital. This reference caused Lampros to identify Demetrios with Drimynos, "prôtoasèkrètis kai anagrapheus", recorded by Miller in his Catalogue des Manuscrits grecs dans l'Escorial, 208; see M. Ch. II, 460. This is possible, but a more certain indication of Drimys' later career is provided by a document of 1186, which mentions him as "prôtonôbelissimos kritès tou bèlou", see MM VI, 121.

24. Nikolaos Tripsychos.

Nikolaos is recorded as governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos in one letter of Michaèl Chôniatès addressed to him as "megalyperochos prôtonotarios ypertimos kai praitôr", M. Ch. II, 67-8. Ypertimos is not an exclusively ecclesiastical title, though its use for civilian officials is limited. Tripsychos was probably prôtonotarios of one of the departments of the central administration. In 1196 he appeared as "dikaiodotès kai megas logariastès tôn sekretôn" in a tribunal held at Constantinople, see Actes de Lavra, nos. 67, 68. This suggests that he made a highly successful career in the administration. A seal belonging to Nikolaos was published by Pancenko, and corrected by Bees, see JIAN XIII, 1911, 3, no. 4. It records the relatively humble position of praitôr and must date from the 1180s. Other members of this family are known, see Bees, VV XXI, 1914, 205-6; Laurent, Bulles métriques, no. 433; cf. chapter III, page 123.

25. Anonymous.

Michaèl Chôniatès refers frequently to praitores who are unidentified except as agents of unjust administration. It is impossible to tell how many governors were appointed to Central Greece between Tripsychos and Stryphnos, but it is clear that one in particular became the butt of Michaèl's attacks. This was the anonymous praitôr of the Ypomnèstikon, dated 1197-8, see M. Ch. I, 308-11. He may also be recorded in some of the letters written at about the same time, ibid. II, 103, 105, 106-7. The same official, or another unidentified governor, is mentioned in later letters, ibid. II, 110, 131, 137.

26. Michaèl Stryphnos.

Michaèl is recorded as governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos by the Metropolitan of Athens in a speech of welcome and a letter of complaint, see M. Ch. I, 324-45; II, 98-100. He governed the province by virtue of his position as commander-in-chief of the Byzantine navy, cf. chapter III, page 136-8.

27. Kônstantinos Maurikas.

Kônstantinos' position as praitôr is known only from his seal, published by Mordtmann, op. cit. 51-2, no. 26; Sigillographie, 54, no. 18, 189, no. 8, 677; and Laurent, Bulles Métriques, no. 305. It was originally attributed to the thirteenth century because of the Palaiologue character of the letters, but as there were no praitores in Central Greece in this century, Kônstantinos must have held office at the end of the twelfth, before 1205 at least. The Maurikas family is not well known; Michaèl "bestarchès kai katepanô Dyrrachiou" in the mid-eleventh century appears to be the only other representative, see Mordtmann, ibid.

28. Grègorios Kamatèros.

The title of prôtopraitôr is recorded rarely and Grègorios is the sole official of Ellas and Peloponnesos to hold it, see Banescu, op. cit. 392-3. It is provided by Grègorios' seal, first published by Lampros and attributed to Kladas, see Ai Athènai peri ta telè tou dôdekatou aiônos, 25, no. 4. This was corrected by Schlumberger to Kamatèros, see Mélanges d'Archéologie, 199-200, no. 1, 224, no. 45, and has been confirmed by other scholars, see Kônstantopoulos, JIAN V, 1902, 200, no. 94; Bees, op. cit. 217-9, no. 32; Shandrovskaya, VV XVI, 1959, 173-82 Grègorios is also known from a document of 1088 and from the correspondence of Theophylaktos of Ochrid, see MM VI, 50; PG 124, col. 326, 368, 489-90, 537, 549. The same person, or another Grègorios Kamatèros is recorded in 1118, see N. Ch. 13, cf. Bon, loc. cit. no 49.

29. Nikèphoros Chalouphès.

Nikèphoros was the cowardly commander of Acrocorinth who singularly failed to protect the local population from the Norman attack of 1147, see N. Ch. 101. His official title is not recorded but it has been suggested that he may have been kastrophylax of this strongly fortified site, see Ahrweiler, Administration, 52. He appears to have had a purely military position and was presumably under the governor's orders.

30. Bardas.

Bardas is the only recorded official of Ellas and Peloponnesos who held the position of architelônès. He is mentioned in the correspondence, of Euthymios Malakès and probably filled some sort of financial role in the provincial capital of Thebes, or in Neai Patrai itself, see EM I, 49-50. Cf. chapter III, page 111-3.

31. Tessarakontapèchys.

Michaèl Chôniatès does not identify this official explicitly, but refers to him in the Prosphônèma addressed to Prosouch, see M. Ch. I, 146. The praktor should not be confused with Michaèl's close friend Geôrgios Tessarakontapèchys, ibid. II, 16, 17, 23, 24, who probably came from the distinguished Constantinopolitan family, see Actes de Lavra, no. But a branch of the family originated in Central Greece, cf. chapter IV, page 201-2; chapter III, page 145.

32. Iôannès Maurozômès.

Iôannès was military commander in Peloponnesos at the time of the Norman siege and capture of Thessalonikè in 1185, see Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica, 88 . He took his forces north to assist the city but was unable to prevent the sack. As there is no other record of this military force, it probably consisted of the local militia, responsible for garrisoning castles and guarding strategic points, cf. chapter III, page 104.

33. Geôrgios (Sergios) Kolymbas.

The confusion over Kolymbas' christian name arises from the fact that Michaèl identifies him first as Geôrgios and later as Sergios, see M. Ch. II, 129, 131. He was anagrapheus of Ellas and Peloponnesos at the turn of the century. Lampros identified him with Sergios Kolybas, author of two speeches to Isaac II, also known from a document of 1192, see Miller, op. cit. 209-10; MM III, 32; M. Ch. II, 599. But this is only hypothetical, cf. chapter III, page 147-8.

34. Basileios Pikridès.

Basileios is unknown apart from the writings of Michaèl Chôniatès who wrote him one letter, see M. Ch. II, 87. He held the position of "logariastès tou praitoros"; but this governor is not identified and the role of logariastès is not elaborated. Cf. chapter III, page 150-1.

35. Leôn Chamaretos.

The self-styled "proedros Lakedaimonôn" is described by Nikètas as the tyrant of the plain of Sparta, and is compared to Sgouros, see N. Ch. 841. Both Schlumberger and Kônstantopoulos published seals of Leôn Chamaretos recording his title of proedros, which was almost certainly not bestowed by imperial authority, see Mélanges d'Archéologie, 204, no. 10; JIAN IV, 1902, 198, nos. 86, 87. Bees correctly identified the owner as a "politikos proedros", not an ecclesiastical official; proedros is often the title of a Metropolitan. See Bees, JIAN XIII, 1911, 5. Both seals have been reproduced, together with the seal of Iôannès Chamaretos, brother of Leôn, by Laurent, Bulles Métriques, nos. 41, 176; cf. Bon, loc. cit. no. 67. On Leôn's activity, see chapter IV, page 260-1.

36. Leôn Sgouros.

Leôn's career as an independent archôn in Central Greece is recorded by both Nikètas and Michaèl Chôniatès, see N. Ch. 800-4, 841-2; M. Ch. I, 309; II, 139, 141, 162-75, 175-87. Only Nikètas mentions the siege of Athens by Sgouros which probably took place in 1203-4 as he was extending his authority north from the Isthmus, see chapter IV, page 260-3. It is not clear whether he levied taxes as a provincial official or imposed these demands on the local population by force. Lampros identified several indirect references to Leôn Sgouros in Michaèl's complaints about raiding, piracy and the general insecurity of the 1190s. In one of these complaints an unidentified "panypertimos" is mentioned as the worst of many who were making war on the inhabitants of Central Greece, see M. Ch. II, 124. The title of panypertimos was generally reserved for highly honoured persons; Michaèl addresses Euthymios Malakès, Manuel of Thebes, the Archbishop of Crete and Nikolaos Tripsychos by this title. So it would be strange for him to attribute it to Sgouros, unless the latter had already adopted it unofficially. There is no evidence that Sgouros called himself panypertimos, and the official referred to by Michael may have been one of the anonymous governors of Central Greece, who caused such destruction in the province. From his seal it is clear that Leôn Sgouros held the grandiose title of "sebastouypertatos", which was probably endowed by the deposed Emperor Alexios III, on the occasion of the marriage between Leôn and Eudokia at Larissa in 1204, see Lampros, Ai Athènai peri ta telè tou dôdekatou aiônos, 25. The seal has been republished by Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 698-9; Kônstantopoulos, Byzantiaka Molybdoboulla, no. 498; Laurent, Bulles Métriques, no. 328; cf. Bon, loc. cit. no. 68.

ii. Other officials connected with the administration of Central Greece.

Before discussing the position of local civil servants in the province, it is necessary to examine the status of some officials from the central administration who had a particular connection with Central Greece.

The first of these is Giovanni Stirione, a Calabrian sailor who eventually became an admiral in the fleet of Theodôros Laskaris.[1] He seems to have been first employed by Isaac II, that is, before 1195, and subsequently by Alexios III, who sent him to Athens to prepare an expedition against the Genoese pirate, Gafforio.[2] Gafforio may well have been the leader of a pirate group based on the islands of Makri and Aigina of whom Michaèl repeatedly complained.[3] Steiriônès, as he became known to Byzantine chroniclers, was not an outstanding success in this project; indeed he was defeated at Sestos before he eventually got the better of Gafforio; but he was nonetheless fêted for the victory.[4] For the campaign against Aegean pirates, he was empowered as a representative of the megas doux to levy a special naval tax. This was an additional payment of the ktisis katergôn and plôimoi levy, the third in one year (1197-8), which provoked a sharp riposte from Michaèl. Gafforio had been defeated by March 1199 when Alexios III announced the Byzantine success to the Genoese, but other Italian pirates were active in the Aegean and the coast of Attika still had no defence.[5]

1. M. Ch. II, 159; Villehardouin, II, 291; Ahrweiler, La Mer, 304.
2. N. Ch. 636.
3. M. Ch. II, 4, 43, 237-40.
4. R. Browning, An anonymous 'basilikos logos' to Alexios I Komnènos, B XXVIII, 1958, 31-50. The date and authorship of this speech have been corrected by J. Darrouzès, see REB XVIII, 1960, 184-7. It was pronounced by Kônstantinos Stilbès in March 1199, and therefore should be attributed to Alexios III Aggelos.
5. Dölger, Regest, no. 1649; MM III, 46-7; M. Ch. I, 308; II, 106.

In conclusion, Steiriônès probably went to Athens in 1197 with authorization to raise money to equip ships in order to stop constant pirate raiding of Aegean coasts. The ships were probably provided from the remains of the Constantinopolitan fleet;[1] it was the equipment and manpower which Central Greece was to supply, whether in person or in an equivalent money tax.[2] The whole scheme brought relatively little improvement for the Athenians and cost them extra taxation. It is unlikely that Steiriônès retained any contact with the area after his departure, probably in 1198, though as admiral of Emperor Theodôros, he paid a visit to the island of Kea, where Michaèl was in exile, in the first years of the thirteenth century.[3]

Secondly, another naval commander who had a special connection with Central Greece, namely Michaèl Stryphnos, who was megas doux of Ellas and Peloponnesos. Stryphnos had held high positions in the Treasury before the accession of Alexios III, his brother-in-law. This close proximity to the new Emperor gave him the post of megas doux.[4] As commander of the fleet he was governor of the maritime provinces. In most of them he delegated his authority to a subordinate, doux, katepanô or energôn, but not in Central Greece.[5] Stryphnos probably went to Athens in 1201-2 to arrange some defence for the area against Leôn Sgouros' activities.[6]

1. For the campaign against Gaffonó 30 ships were provided by the capital, but most of these were either destroyed or put out of action by the defeat at Sestos. Alexios III then hired Pisan ships which contributed to the final defeat of Gaffonó, see N. Ch. 636-7.
2. See above, section 3, page 106.
3. M. Ch. II, 159.
4. Stryphnos held the position of epi tou bestiariou under Isaac II, see MM III, 27. By July 1196 he had been promoted to megas doux, see Actes de Lavra, no. 67.
5. See above, section I, page 87-9.
6. M. Ch. I, 324-42.

There is no evidence of his administration in Central Greece, but it obviously failed to prevent Sgouros from expanding his independent state. Although the Metropolitan expected great things of Stryphnos, the megas doux' past record suggested that improvement was unlikely. At the Treasury his activity had been directed entirely towards personal profit. He was reported to have "gulped down money and robbed public funds, being motivated by greed above everything else". [1] Nikètas Chôniatès accused him of selling naval equipment such as anchors, sails and masts, so that at the approach of the Fourth Crusade the Byzantine naval arsenal was empty. [2]

After a brief visit to Athens, Stryphnos appears to have abandoned the region. But it is clear from a later letter of Michaèl Chôniatès that he retained control over Central Greece. [3] In reply to some request, which does not survive, the Metropolitan emphasises that there has been no change in the devastation of Attika and Athens by pirates. Maritime hazards prevent trade and as a port Athens relies on communication by sea. In addition there is great hardship in rural areas resulting from excessive taxation; people are being reduced to poverty and are forced to leave their homes. The wind uproots them and blows them away to foreign parts. They cannot support the myriad demands for extraordinary taxes. He begs the megas doux to check these demands, promising that the population is ready to give him the customary gifts (antidoseis).

1. N. Ch. 651. This was the opinion of Kônstantinos Mesopotamitès, a sworn enemy of Stryphnos.
2. Ibid. 716-7.
3. M. Ch. II, 98-100. In the notes to his edition, Lampros, and following him Stadtmüller, grouped this letter with others sent to Constantinople at the same time as the Ypomnèstikon to Alexios III, that is, in 1198-9. But as it recalls the previous visit of Stryphnos, it must postdate the official Prosphônèma of welcome dated 1201-2 by both scholars, see M. Ch. II, 530-1; Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, 249, 254; Brand, op. cit. 153.

As governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos Stryphnos had probably insisted on these payments even though he was not in the province and did little to strengthen the administration. [1]

The third official is Basileios Kamatèros, another brother-in-law of Alexios III but a far more experienced and skilled administrator than Stryphnos. [2] One of the family which provided so many bureaucrats, public officials and ecclesiastics throughout the twelfth century, Basileios was logothetès tou dromou in 1183, but lost both the post and his sight for conspiring against Andronikos I. [3] After a period of exile in Russia he returned to serve, despite his blindness, under Isaac II. He only regained his former influence and position of logothetès at the accession of Alexios III. [4] As with all these Constantinopolitan officials to whom Michaèl addressed his pleas, it is difficult to tell whether he knew them personally or whether he wrote to every influential figure who might be able to get the ear of the Emperor and speak for the Athenians. From his training in the capital it is possible that Michaèl might have met members of the Kamatèros family, particularly those who later became Patriarchs, but there is no evidence that he knew Basileios. [5] He addressed

1. M. Ch. II, 99-100. On the antidoseis, see J. Darrouzès, Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle, Paris, 1960, nos. 22, 23, (Section IX).
2. He was a brother of the Empress Euphrosynè, see V. Laurent, Un sceau inédit du protonotaire Basile Camateros, B VI, 1931, 253-72; G. Stadtmüller, Zur Geschichte der Familie Kamateros, BZ XXXIV, 1934, 352-8; G. Ladas, Biographiai tines sèmeiôseis peri tôn Kamatèrôn O Syllektès, II, 1952-8, 64-74. The genealogy of this family has been better established by Darrouzès, Tornikai, 43-9, especially 48. See also D. Polemis, The Doukai, London 1968, no. 100, 130-1.
3. N. Ch. 345-6.
4. M. Ch. II, 62-4. It is not known which department Basileios controlled but foreign affairs (tou dromou) was held by Iôannès Doukas and later by Dèmètrios Tornikes.
5. Michaèl obviously knew Patriarch Basileios Kamatèros, 1183-6, as the two had both worked in the patriarchal chancellery, see M. Ch. II, 39, 46. His brother Nikètas knew Basileios the logothetès and wrote him three letters, see J-L. van Dieten, Niketas Choniates, Berlin/New York, 1971, 170-2; 178; 181-6.

one letter to him as logothetès, but nothing further until the Prosphônèma of welcome on the occasion of Basileios' visit to Athens. [1] The reason for this journey was probably that Alexios III felt obliged to do something about the picture of desolation presented in Michaèl's Ypomnèstikon. So at some time in 1199 or 1200 he sent Basileios to check the Metropolitan's information. Michaèl welcomed the logothetès in the hope that he would save Athens from the depredations of the praitôr, who was not allowed to enter the city with full retinue but did so on the pretext of worshipping at the Parthenon. How long the logothetès remained in Attika and what he did there is unknown. (However, Michaèl was still in touch with him after 1204, writing to him at Nikaia from the island of Kea). [2] As an influential public figure Kamatèros' appearance in such an isolated and ignored part of the Empire was doubtless gratifying to Michaèl, but it probably achieved nothing.

Another person whom Michaèl felt to be particularly concerned with Ellas and Peloponnesos was Iôannès Doukas, logothetès tou dromou under Isaac II. [3] It was to him that Michaèl referred in his Memorandum over

1. M. Ch. I, 312-23.
2. Ibid. II, 257-61.
3. N. Ch. 525. The career of this general and statesman has been almost inextricably tangled with that of Iôannès Kamatèros, son of Andronikos. The identification of these two persons was first made by C. Müller, Geographi Graeci Minores, Paris 1885, I, 201, and confirmed by W. Regel, Fontes rerum byzantinarum, Petropolis 1917, I, viii-x. But there are several objections to this. The most telling is simply the ages of Iôannès and his supposed father, Andronikos. Iôannès is recorded first in 1150, whereas Andronikos is not known until 1155, see Kinnamos, 109-12; Darrouzès, Tornikai, 140-2. Andronikos died soon after 1176, while Iôannès had a public career of nearly 40 years, until 1190. In fact this Iôannès is a quite distinct person from Iôannès Doukas Kamatèros, son of Andronikos. His first public appointment was as megas etaireiarchès in c. 1170, see VV XI, 1904, 479. After 1175 he was received by Eustathios at Thessalonikè; Regel, op. cit. I, 16-24; he corresponded with Michaèl Glykas; he commanded at Nikaia in 1182, and became logothetès tou dromou soon after the accession of Isaac II (1185), see G. Stadtmüller, op. cit. 356-8; D. Polemis, op. cit. nos. 98 and 99, 126-30; Darrouzès, Tornikai, 45-6.

the vexed question of maritime taxes. From this it appears that Iôannès had made an apographè (revision of tax rates) which had established the rate of the plôimon contribution. [1] But Steiriônès, Sgouros and the governor had all levied this tax at a higher rate. Michaèl requested a return to the old rate. This was normally settled by the prôtonotarios and chartoularios of the plôimon bureau, the department of the megas doux. [2] As far as is known Iôannès Doukas never worked under the naval commander, but he may have been involved in a new apographè of Central Greece, needed perhaps for military reasons. This revision must have been the most recent one. It was probably made before 1190, when Iôannès was replaced by Eumathios Philokalès in the negotiations with Frederick II. [3]

Finally, it is necessary to mention the Tornikès family in connection with the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos. The family came from the East but a branch had settled in Thebes and Euripos, and so was rooted in Central Greece. [4] There can be no doubt that Michaèl was genuinely fond of Dèmètrios and his son Euthymios, especially the latter who was a deacon, patriarchal archôn, at Agia Sophia, Constantinople. [5] The father was sent to be educated in the capital and may well have met Michaèl there, before he became kritès tou bèlou and Michaèl was appointed to Athens. [6]

1. M. Ch. I, 308, 310.
2. On maritime taxes, see section 3, page 106.
3. N. Ch. 630.
4. See the monody written for Dèmètrios Tornikès by his son, Euthymios, Noctes Petropolitanae, 125-42; Darrouzès, Tornikai, 7-43.
5. Noctes Petropolitanae, 115-25. Michaèl wrote seven letters to Dèmètrios and 14 to Euthymios after he returned to Greece in c. 1205.
6. Before 1182 Dèmètrios filled the post of imperial secretary while Michaèl was ypogrammateus in the patriarchal chancellery, see Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, 141. In about 1182 he became kritès tou bèlou, see N. Ch. 344; subsequently he held the post of epi tou kanikleiou from 1186-8, when he was disgraced, see M. Ch. II, 50-2, 52-4, 65-6, 79-80, 84-6, especially 65. He is first mentioned as logothetès tou dromou in September 1191, a post which he held until his death probably in 1200. Cf. Darrouzès, Tornikai, 33-4.

They remained in touch and the Metropolitan often called on Tornikès to use his influence in favour of the Athenians. He clearly thought that Dèmètrios would do so and that he would have some effect.[1] When Dèmètrios died Michaèl wrote to another of his sons, Kônstantinos, who inherited his father's position as logothetès tou drmou, encouraging him to carry on the family tradition of protecting the inhabitants of Central Greece.[2] Possibly the Tornikai had a vested interest in this policy, but there is no evidence that they were ever very successful. Their connection with the province, however, was much stronger than that of Theodôros Kastamonitès, whom Michaèl also regarded as a protector.[3] After the Latin occupation Euthymios Tornikès was one of the few Greek clerics to remain near their churches, rather than seeking appointments in Nikaia or Epeiros.[4] Michael wrote to him often at Euboia, and tried to get him the see of his uncle Euthymios Malakès (Neai Patrai) when that area was won back from the Latins in 1219. He also kept in contact with the family of Kônstantinos, who settled in Nikaia after the death of the logothetès in Bulgaria.[5]

The Tornikès family was much loved by Michaèl. He obviously did not write to the various members who held high office solely in the hope of getting improvements in Central Greece. But he may have been mistaken in attributing to Dèmètrios any particular protective influence.

1. See for example, M. Ch. II, 51, 66, 86, 96, 122.
2. Ibid. II, 124-5. Kônstantinos held the positions of epi tou deèseôn and eparchos of Constantinople before he took over his father's post, see MM III, 129, 142. The act of 1188 which records his promotion as logothetès tou dromou has been redated to 1203, see Vranousès, Patmiaka, Charistèrion eis A. Orlandon, II, 1966, 78-97.
3. M. Ch. II, 69-72.
4. He returned to Euboia with two friends who had also been deacons of the Great Church, see Michaèl's letters to the three Agiosophitai, M. Ch. II, 221-5; 225-32.
5. J. Darrouzès, Tornikès et Malakès, REB XXIII, 1965, 152-5; M. Ch. II, 357; cf. N. Ch. 848.

iii. Local Government Officials.

The group of local provincial officials together formed an administration whose function was to preserve order and to provide continuity in imperial government, especially to ensure the regular collection of taxes. Some positions were as changeable as that of the governor; the anagrapheus, for example, was appointed by the Emperor for a three year period; but other officials must have been nominated by the governor himself. [1] If he was a regular governor he might possibly bring his own logariastès with him. [2] But it is difficult to tell how local administrators were appointed or for how long.

The Fiscal Treatise written in the first quarter of the ninth century presents a clear and perhaps idealised account of provincial financial administration. [3] By the end of the twelfth century, as far as one can judge from the paltry evidence, the main differences in administration were due to changes in titulature not function. The prôtonotarios, dioikètès and chartoularios of the province had disappeared. Their primarily fiscal roles were taken over by the praktôr, and the administrative capacity of the prôtonotarios was transferred to the praitôr (governor). [4] The roles

1. Finanzverwaltung, 82-3; 88; Kekaumenos, 7,43 ; Ahrweiler, Administration, 68-9, 71-2, 75.
2. Twelfth century logariastai were closely connected with provincial governors, unlike their ninth century counterparts; Finanzverwaltung, 118; cf. MM VI, 125. See also page 150-1.
3. On the Fiscal Treaty, see chapter IV, section 2, page 208.
4. On the growth of the praktôr's authority, see Finanzverwaltung, 72; Kekaumenos, 18,103 ; Ahrweiler, Administration, 88, 90.
   In the twelfth century the title of prôtonotarios was reserved for officials of the chief ministries of the central administration, see for example, Nikolaos Tripsychos, prôtonotarios, who became governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos, M. Ch. II, 67.

of the epoptès and exisôtès were combined with the position of anagrapheus/apographeus.[1] These developments must have been caused partly by Alexios I's re-organisation of the most important ministries at Constantinople. When the Sakellè was put under the megas logariastès, the whole financial structure of the central administration was changed, and provincial officials who had depended on the old Sakellè were re-organised.[2] The simplification and centralisation of imperial administration coincided with the growth of civilian government in the provinces. As the power of the stratègoi declined in the eleventh century, that of the non-military governor increased.[3] In areas far from the capital this process was encouraged by the fact that throughout the twelfth century imperial authority became weaker. After the death of Andronikos I, control over provincial administration passed from the central departments to local officials. It is clear from Michaèl Chôniatès' few references to these people that they were powerful, but he is rarely precise about their positions and their activity. The evidence from his writings is nevertheless useful and worth collecting.

A. The praktôr.

After the governor, the most important provincial official was the praktôr. This title is recorded from the ninth century onwards, but gains

1. This amalgamation of the posts of epoptès, exisôtès and anagrapheus was complete within each province, but the post of exisôtès tès dyseôs continued to exist. In the twelfth century Michaèl Kamatèros held this position and was presumably responsible for the registration of land and property throughout the European half of the Empire, see Sigillographie, 516; V. Laurent, B VI, 1931, 269.
2. On these administrative reforms, see Finanzverwaltung, 15, 17-9; Ahrweiler, La Mer, 200-4; E. Stein, Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Mitteilungen zur Osmänliche Geschichte, II, 1923-6, 33-4.
3. See above, section I, page 84-90.

a definite new function and power only in the late eleventh century. [1] The praktôr became the chief tax collector and assessor, responsible for surveying and measuring land. This role was particularly vital when all the influential land owners, including ecclesiastical institutions, were trying to extend their possessions, and when property and boundary disputes were very frequent. In addition the development of tax exemptions, which had to be recorded in provincial tax registers, gave praktores a key position. [2] Michaèl reveals that the praktores of Ellas and Peloponnesos made numerous measurements of land, chiefly to justify new and higher rates of assessment. In particular he accused them of rating Attika at more nomismata per modion than Boiotia. [3] He also blamed the praktores for many other evils including the unfair distribution of taxation and the failure of the new katastichon, established by Prosouch to correct this abuse. [4] As they controlled this allocation of taxation, they were still in a position to favour the wealthy and powerful landlords at the expense of poorer people. [5] This was obviously most serious in the case of land and hearth taxes but it probably effected the distribution of other dues as well. The praktores supervised and inspected the whole collection of

1. Finanzverwaltung, 71-3; Zepos, Jus GR I, 363-4.
2. Praktores and anagrapheis co-operated in the business of allocating taxation, but the praktôr alone was competent to judge cases of disputed boundaries and landownership. In 1162, for example, the praktôr of Thessalonikè heard a case between some soldiers and the monastery of Lavra; it was finally settled by the doux of Thessalonikè, see Actes de Lavra, 64.
3. M. Ch. I, 307; II, 66.
4. Ibid. II, 48, 54.
5. Ibid. II, 48. Cf. Kekaumenos, 18, 103.

taxes, both direct and indirect. Inferior officials who did the actual work of collecting each specific tax worked under them, for example, the kapnologountes were responsible for the kapnologion/kapnikon. [1]

Michaèl gives the name of only one of these "destroyers of the poor". This is one Tessarakontapèchys who was praktôr in about 1182 when Michaèl arrived in Athens. [2] His demand for taxes was so exorbitant that the Metropolitan mentioned it as a specific evil to the new governor Prosouch. There are no further references to Tessarachontapèchys, and Prosouch appears to have improved the situation. But at the time of Drimys' first visit to Central Greece, a praktôr was still supporting an unequal distribution of taxes. [3] The charges of dishonesty and rapaciousness which Michael brought against later anonymous praktores echo Theophylaktos' complaints. [4] But in one respect the inhabitants of Greece seem to have been better off than those of Ochrid, in that they did not suffer under an official like Lazaros, who combined the posts of praktôr and anagrapheus. [5] This sort of combination gave extra power to the praktorikè energeia. Unfortunately Michaèl tends to describe this power in such verbose and rhetorical terms that it is difficult to know exactly what he means. [6]

1. M. Ch. II, 106.
2. Ibid. I, 146; II, 457. In his editorial notes, Lampros indicates the existence of a marginal note in the Laurentian ms. of Michaèl Chôniatès' writings. This identifies the praktôr as "ton tote praktora ainittetai Tessarakonta(pèchyn)." He should not be confused with Geôrgios Tessarakontapèchys, to whom Michaèl wrote four affectionate letters, ibid. II, 16, 17, 23, 43-6. On the family, see chapter IV, section 2, page 201-2.
3. Ibid. II, 54.
4. PG 126, col. 337B, 316B; M. Ch. II, 83, 105.
5. PG 126, col. 452A.
6. M. Ch. I, 308.

B. The anagrapheus/apographeus.

Michaèl uses both these terms and includes them in a list of official oppressors, which suggests that there may have been a difference in their roles. [1] In general the latter tended to replace the former in the early thirteenth century. The anagrapheus of Ellas and Peloponnesos has to be distinguished from contemporaneous anagrapheis in Asia Minor, who were provincial governors, with the title doux kai anagrapheus. [2] The Western anagrapheus was subordinate to the governor, but held an important position as the official responsible for land measurement and classification. This was an essential part of making cadastral surveys.

In the ninth century the chartoularios tôn arklôn, epoptai, exisôtai and orthôtai all took part in this activity, but the anagrapheus was their superior. He was appointed by the Emperor and was not responsible to one of the chief ministries at Constantinople. [3] By the twelfth century these minor positions had been combined with that of anagrapheus, who also took over the job of measuring abandoned land (klasmatikè gè) and of calculating the epibolè. As measurement was always notoriously inefficient whichever way it was done, it is not surprising that the anagrapheis were accused of cheating poor people. [4] They were also

1. M. Ch. II, 105, mentions the "apographeis, anagrapheis, dasmologoi" etc.
2. For example, Basileios Batatzès, doux kai anagrapheus of Mylassa and Melanoudion in 1189, see MM IV, 320. Cf. Section I, page 84-5.
3. The chartoularios tôn arklôn, also known as the exô-chartoularios, supervised the making and revision of provincial cadasters assisted by the epoptès. Both were appointed by the logothesion tou genikou see Finanzverwaltung, 69; Klèterologion, 87, 140; De Cer. I, 694. On the superiority of the anagrapheus; Finanzverwaltung, 82-3, 88 For the process, see chapter IV, section 2, page 208-9.
4. On Byzantine land measurement, see Finanzverwaltung, 83-8; N. Svoronos, L'épibolè à l'époque des Comnènes, TM III, 1968, 375-95. Theophylaktos accused the praktôr-anagrapheus of using an indecently short measuring cord, and therefore recording the area (modismos) very inaccurately, see PG 126, col. 448C.

in a position to favour some and not others when they registered tax exemptions and sympatheiai in the katastichon. [1] Michaèl does not give an explicit account of these activities, but his general accusations probably refer to the practices denounced by Theophylaktos. He mentions frequent measurements and inaccurate registration of land and property, including the anagrapheis among the oppressive officials more numerous than the plague of frogs sent by God to Egypt. [2]

The sole anagrapheus identified by Michaèl is Geôrgios or Sergios Kolymbas, who was accused, together with his assistant Nomikopoulos, of depriving the metropolitan church of Athens of its possessions. [3] This dispute was connected with a long-standing quarrel between Attika and Boiotia over the village of Ôrôpos, but it had been exaggerated by the anagrapheus' action. [4] Ôrôpos was part of the 'athènaikè episkepsis;' the proasteion (estate) and church there were recorded in the praktika of the church of Athens. Michaèl protested that Kolymbas and Nomikopoulos had registered the village in the praktika of Thebes, thus removing from Athens a source of revenue as well as buildings and other resources. Proasteia were often isolated estates which might be taken over by local

1. M. Ch. I, 307; II, 66.
2. Ibid. II, 105.
3. He may be the basilikos grammatikos, Sergios Kolybas, known from two speeches addressed to Isaac II, published by W. Regel, op. cit. II, 280. Sergios Kolybas also appears as prôtonotarios in an act of 1192 confirming Genoese privileges; see MM III, 32. Dölger read in this act 'prôtonôbelissimos' and 'megalepiphanestatos' rather than prôtonotarios and 'megaloprattontos', see Exkurs I, Der Kodikellos des Christodoulos in Palermo, Byzantinische Diplomatik, Ettal 1956, 31. The epithet 'megalepiphanestatos' is normally given to prôtonôbelissimoi but it is doubtful whether Sergios Kolybas, prôtonotarios and later anagrapheus of Ellas and Peloponnesos, held such a high rank. The identification of these two characters is only hypothetical anyway.
4. M. Ch. II, 131.

officials or landowners, for example, the monks of S. Paul's monastery on Mount Latros complained of a threat to their 'proasteion elaikon' in the province of Mylassa and Melanoudion. [1] Michaèl went on to condemn Kolymbas for failing to protect the inhabitants of the Isthmus against pirate attacks. He also mentioned that it was widely believed that "twisted dealings were distorting public justice." [2] The fact that Kolymbas had such wide-ranging powers and was held responsible for public order and defence, suggests that he may have been replacing, or acting for an absentee praitôr. [3]

Michaèl uses the term apographeus twice and in one letter he seems to contrast it with the more common anagrapheus. [4] Possibly the titles are used indiscriminately, but as the terms anagraphè and apographè are differentiated, it is more likely that they reflect distinguishable functions. Anagraphè is the word used for land measurement and classification, which decided the worth of the land and therefore its tax. [5]

1. MM V, 320. The term episkepsis originally meant inspection, but by the twelfth century it had come to mean the administration of estates and so the land itself, see Finanzverwaltung, 41, 151. Several episkepseis in Greece are known from the 1198 Chrysoboullon for Venice, see TT I, 266. Cf. section 5, page 169-70.
2. M. Ch. II, 129, 131. He quotes, "οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς," the Greek proverb frequently employed, for example by Horace, Epistles I, XVII, 36.
3. In the Western provinces it was not unknown for the post of anagrapheus to be combined with that of praitôr, for example, Euthymios held both posts in the province of Strymon, Boleron and Thessalonikè (unpublished act of Esphigmenou, 1095); Iôannès Taronitès held the same position in many provinces, Strymon, Boleron, Thessalonikè, Thrace, Makedonia, see Banescu, op. cit. 392.
4. M. Ch. II, 105.
5. Ibid. I, 307. Cf. the anagraphè made in the 'thema Serbiôn' by Basileios Tzintziloukès between 1148-63. This established a praktikon for the Bishop of Stagoi, listing the property and privileges of the Church, see C. Astruc, Un document inédit de 1163 sur l'Evêché thessalien de Stagoi, BCH LXXXIII, 1959, 213-5.

But apographè is used by Michaèl in connection with the revision of dues, such as the contribution to the plôimon tax which was made by all maritime areas.[1] He also mentions that the population of Ellas and Peloponnesos had been "apographentes" in a letter complaining about these contributions (syndosiai).[2] In this context the verb must mean "assessed" rather than "measured". So the apographeus was responsible for settling the rates for syndosiai; only later did this official take on the related function of the anagrapheus. Obviously this development was particular to the European provinces. In Asia Minor the distinction does not appear to have existed. The title for governor was either doux kai anagrapheus or doux kai apographeus.[3]

It was common for the anagrapheus to have an assistant, even in the twelfth century when the junior cadaster officials are rarely found. The anagrapheus of the Cyclades, Nikolaos Tzanzès, had a subordinate, Geôrgios Granatos, deacon of the Great Church and prôtosynkellos, who did the paper work.[4] In 1088 he drew up the act by which the island of Patmos was given to S. Christodoulos. Granatos was an ecclesiastic but he filled the same role as earlier exisôtai and epoptai, who had assisted the anagrapheus in keeping provincial cadasters up to date. Although the title of exisôtès had become unusual by the twelfth century, it appears

1. M. Ch. I, 308, 310; Finanzverwaltung, 90.
2. Ibid. II, 107, cf. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, 297.
3. Michaèl Xèros (1128), Andronikos Kantakouzènos (1175) and Basileios Batatzès (1189) all held the position of governor with a variety of titles, see MM IV, 317, 324, 325. Nikètas held the "archè kai apographè" of Philippopolis in about 1188; N. Ch. 526. In the Empire of Nikaia there was no distinction between anagraphè and apographè, see MM VI, 196; M. Angold, Government and Administration in the Empire of Nikaia (unpublished Ph. D. thesis) Oxford 1967, 250, 253-6.
4. MM VI, 55-7.

from a rather enigmatic reference of Michael that Kolymbas had an assistant known as the exisotes. [1] It is tempting to identify this official with Nomikopoulos, who is named as Kolymbas' partner (syntrophos), and who is accused of collaborating in the inaccurate registration of Athenian property. But if Nomikopoulos had held an official title, Michael would probably have used it. At present Kolymbas' assistant exisotes must remain anonymous. [2]

C. The Logariastes.

At Thebes the praitores tried with reduced resources to emulate the pomp and ceremony of the Emperor's entourage. Whenever they travelled round the province, they were accompanied by an eiskomide of followers (oi parepomenoi apantes). [3] Among these Michael names the logariastes, protobestiarios and protokentarchos, who accompanied the governor to worship at the Parthenon, and the ypodochatores who went ahead to prepare the party's board and lodging. [4]

The logariastai (or logistai) were financial officials known from the Fiscal Treaty, when they held the relatively minor position of assistants to the praktor. [5] By the twelfth century the logariastes had become an

1. M. Ch. II, 131; Finanzverwaltung, 79-81. The activity of the exisotes continued into the thirteenth century; in 1261, for example, Ioannes Pagkalos made an "anatheoresin kai exisosin" of the island of Kos, see MM VI, 210.
2. There is one other reference to the term exisotes in Michael's writings, where it is used to describe Aristeides the just, the one who makes things equal, see M. Ch. II, 72. In this context the term can can have no technical twelfth century connotation.
3. Ibid. I, 309; II, 107.
4. Ibid. I, 309; II, 106.
5. Finanzverwaltung, 118; Ahrweiler, Administratio 41, 72. R. Guilland, Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin. Le logariaste, ; le grand logariaste, , JOBG XVIII, 1969, 101-13.

important figure in provincial administration. There are many examples of logariastai attached to governors : in 1175 Iôannès Chrysanthos, yperentimotatos logariastès of the governor of Mylassa and Melanoudion, confirmed exemption from public taxes for S. Paul's monastery, Mount Latros. [1] But later the logariastès of the Thrakêsion province was accused by the monks of depriving them of some monastic property. [2] The doux of Crete had a logariastès, Michaèl Chrysobergès, who drew up a document in 1193 confirming the sale of vineyards. [3] Unfortunately Michaèl Chôniatès says nothing at all about the work of Basileios Pikridès, the logariastès attached to the praitôr of Ellas and Peloponnesos. [4] He was clearly a cultured man to whom Michaèl could describe the amousia of Athenian life and the barbarian dialect of the inhabitants of Attika. [5] As logariastès, Pikridès was a close associate of the governor and probably an influential official. He was probably responsible for some aspects of financial administration and assisted the praktôr, in the same way as other twelfth century logariastai. Logistai are recorded independently of logariastai, but with no indication of their precise function. [6]

1. MM IV, 317.
2. Ibid. IV, 214.
3. Ibid. VI, 125, 127. Cf. H. Ahrweiler, L'administration militaire de la Crète byzantine, B XXXI, 1961, 217-28. Not only provincial governors but most institutions in the Empire had a logariastès, see Sigillographie, 142, 151, 399; Guilland, op. cit. 103.
4. M. Ch. II, 87.
5. Ibid. loc. cit. Michaèl had been in Athens about a year when he wrote this letter, see Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, 248. Even after three years he still found the dialect strange.
6. Ibid. II, 106.

D. The Prôtobestiarios.

It is surprising to find a prôtobestiarios in the company of a provincial governor. This position was one of the most important court posts reserved to eunuchs until the eleventh and twelfth centuries. [1] The prôtobestiarios took care of the Emperor's wardrobe and supervised his dressing and undressing. Because of this continuous proximity to the Emperor, the post was usually given to most trusted friends, often to a close relative. Twelfth century prôtobestiarioi not only accompanied the Emperor in all his movements, they also seem to have had military duties. [2] As well as the Emperor, the Co-Emperor and the Empress each had their own wardrobe officials with the same title, but there is no evidence that provincial governors normally had a prôtobestiarios. In fact the post is rarely found in a provincial context. In the early thirteenth century, however, Geôrgios Eunouchos, one of the megalodoxotatoi syntrophoi of Palatia, a village (chôra) in the region of Miletos, held the position of prôtobestiarios. [3] From 1207 to 1213 he bought up land in the area; unfortunately the documents tell us nothing more about him. But from the type of organisation it seems that he was an official of the local administration, either based on the Metropolitan see of Miletos or on the castle at Palatia. [4] In the Empire of Nikaia such small administrative units, similar to twelfth century Greek oria, were quite common. In Central Greece the prôtobestiarios was attached to the governor, not to the oria administration.

1. R. Guilland, Fonctions et dignités des eunuques. Le Protovestiaire, EB II, 1944, 202-25.
2. De Cer. I, 478; Finanzverwaltung, 32. The career of Andronikos Doukas illustrates this development : in 1073 he was prôtoproedros, prôtobestiarios and megas domestikos, see MM VI, 4.
3. MM VI, 152-65. Other officials in the area included a logariastès, Michaèl Basilikès, a megalodoxotatos praktôr, Eudaimonitzès.
4. See M. Angold, op. cit. 365, 375.

Because of all these problems, Lampros corrected the term to prôtobestiaritès.[1] This suggestion raises additional problems, which are discussed below, but it does seem to fit into twelfth century administration better than the elevated post of prôtobestiarios.

E. The prôtokentarchos.

This official attendant on the governor had a less ambiguous position : he commanded the provincial troops at the governor's disposition. Prôtokentarchoi are recorded as junior officers in the offikion of the tenth century stratègoi, often connected with the drouggarokometes. They were all involved in provincial defence and were supported by the local population who had to supply them with board and lodging.[2] Although some prôtokentarchoi were associated with guard duties in imperial castles, they were distinguished from the kastrophylakes, ordinary castle garrisons.[3]

By the twelfth century the number of troops in each province had declined and there was probably only one prôtokentarchos in Ellas and Peloponnesos. He was under the orders of the governor, who retained control over these reduced military forces, even though he was a civilian.[4] In Central Greece the prôtokentarchos seems to have acted fairly

1. M. Ch. II, 516. Cf. page 157 below.
2. The Thrakèsion province had six prôtokentarchoi and six drouggarokometes in 911/2, see De Cer. I, 663. The fact that a special diatrophè for prôtokentarchoi was levied in the provinces indicates that they were supported by the locality, see MM V, 4, 9, 138; VI, 47; Actes de Vatopedi, nos. 2, 3.
3. MM V, 9.
4. Actes de Vatopedi, no. 3.

independently. Michaèl complained of the rough treatment one of his ecclesiastics received from the leader of the governor's troops.[1] The role of the prôtokentarchos was fairly limited. He may have commanded the drouggoi, local militia based in the mountainous inland areas of Greece.[2] But he was not able to protect the inhabitants of Attika against pirate attacks, and there is no evidence that he took part in any serious military operations, for example against Sgouros. Provincial troops probably constituted more of a police force than an army division, which is not surprising, given the purely maritime character of Central Greece.

F. The Ypodochatôr.

The ypodochatôr was responsible for ensuring supplies for the governor and his retinue whenever they left Thebes. In this capacity he was closely connected with the eiskomidè. When the praitôr announced a visit to Athens, allegedly to worship at the Church of the Theotokos (Mother of God), the event was an excuse for several ypodochatores to raid nearby farms and stores in Athens in order to feed all the governor's followers. Michaèl was doubly incensed at this : first, because it was illegal : Athens had an imperial prostagma (written order) preventing the governor from entering the city except alone and unattended.[3] Second, because the party behaved in such a hypocritical fashion. While the governor prayed, the ypodochatores "came seeking out the wealthiest citizens, collecting food for men and for horses and beasts, taking whole flocks of sheep and fowl and all the produce of the sea, and wine and gold

1. M. Ch. II, 119.
2. See section 3 above, page 114-5.
3. M. Ch. II, 71.

to the value of all our vines."[1] They also enforced the aggareia tôn ypozygiôn, a common duty to provide draught animals for transport. Normally the animals were used for a specific task and then returned to their owners, but Michaèl reports that the ypodochatores forced the owners to buy back their livestock.[2] The money which they paid out was part of the proskynètikion, a gift made to provincial officials before they left the area.[3] No wonder Michaèl rated the arrival of the governor and his men as one of the worst burdens of provincial life (epèreiai).

The title of ypodochatôr is not very common, but the word ypodochè is often found in tax exemption charters, in association with diatrophè, diatribè and kathisma.[4] All four terms are connected with the epèreia of providing food and lodging for provincial troops. The local population had to take on the main burden of this tax.

Fiscal Agents.

Officials concerned with the collection of taxes were the most numerous of all provincial administrators. They worked under the supervision of the praktor. Some are known by the name of the tax they levied, for example the zeugologountes; others as dasmologoi and phorologountes. Although he is not often explicit about the functions of these tax collectors, Michaèl gives valuable information about the financial administration of Ellas and Peloponnesos, which helps to explain the poverty of the province at the end of the twelfth century.

1. M. Ch. I, 309.
2. Ibid. I, 310; II, 107.
3. Ibid. I, 309; II, 106. Proskynètikia were often denoted by other names kephalitikion, kaniskion or misthos, but they were always arbitrarily imposed by officials, see Finanzverwaltung, 51; Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates, 172, 175.
4. MM V, 137, 144; VI, 20, 23, 47. See also Appendix I, page 277-9.

G. The Dasmologos/Phorologos.

Both were general terms, sometimes used to denote positions of considerable importance, such as the doux of Crete, for example.[1] Another dasmologos of Crete was responsible for arresting the son of Batatzès, when he was in revolt against the Emperor, so the title could be used to mean more than a simple tax collector.[2] But often there is no great significance attached to either term. Michaèl mentions the dasmologoi in his long list of officials who were sent from the capital to Greece every year.[3] Here dasmologos is used in the general sense. Energôn, prattôn, synergôn and phorologos are all used in this way, but Michaèl never suggests that they were appointed from the capital.[4] He does not give any indication how many there were, how they were appointed or how long they stayed in the province.

H. The Bestiaritès.

This official first appears in an exemption formula of 1074, close to the mandatoroi tou dromou.[5] Five years later the bestiaritai are again listed, together with kastrophylakes, kastroktistai and prôtokentarchoi.[6] It is obvious that they have a military rather than a fiscal role. But they are not the provincial equivalent of the bestiaritai of Constantinople, an imperial bodyguard, for they have civil as well as military duties.[7]

1. MM VI, 327; N. Ch. 700, uses phorologos to designate the governor of Mylassa and Melanoudion. Cf. H. Ahrweiler, L'administration militaire de la Crète byzantine, B XXXI, 1961, 218-28.
2. N. Ch. 342.
3. M. Ch. II, 105, 106.
4. Ibid. I, 307; II, 83.
5. MM V, 137.
6. Ibid. V, 9.
7. On the bestiaritai of the capital, see Alexiade I, 152; Finanzverwaltung 32.

They are carefully distinguished from Treasury officials, oi epi tès èmeras sakellès kai tou bestiariou. [1] At the end of the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth, provincial bestiaritai are known as tax collectors. In the Empire of Nikaia they worked under the domestikos tôn anatolikôn thematôn, collecting taxes, deciding boundary disputes and fixing the plôimon contribution. [2]

Of these two types of bestiaritai, Michaèl seems to refer to the financial official, who was probably another assistant of the praktôr. He complains that an additional new levy has been made by the bestiarités, and his assistant (synergos). [3] This follows a protest against the aggareia and proskynètika and may be associated with them. A similar provincial bestiarités is recorded in the Smyrna region in 1194, but his role in the administration is no more closely defined. [4] It is possible that these officials had the same function as their thirteenth century counterparts.

If Lampros' correction of prôtobestiarités for prôtobestiarios is accepted, this official may be the chief provincial bestiarités. [5] The term is not recorded in twelfth century sources, although it is preserved on seals, which display Saint George, the warrior saint, on the reverse. These seals must belong to military bestiaritai. [6] In the thirteenth century, however, the office of prôtobestiarités existed in both Nikaia and Epeiros. Michaèl's nephew Geôrgios Chôniatès who joined Theodôros

1. In the act of 1079, for example, the Treasury officials are mentioned quite separately from the bestiaritai and military officials, see MM V, 9.
2. MM IV, 251, 252-3, 230, 273, 282; Finanzverwaltung, 31.
3. M. Ch. II, 107. Lampros considered that the terrifying assistant might have been Leôn Sgouros, but this is only a hypothesis, which he also applies to other letters, ibid, II, 587, cf. 122, 124.
4. MM IV, 185. In this act the bestiarités is distinguished from the imperial bestiarités.
5. See section D above, page 152-3.
6. Sigillographie, 606.

Aggelos, held this position, and so did Andronikos Xanthos in Nikaia.[1] The fiscal duties of a prôtobestiaritès are illustrated by the anatheôresis made by Geôrgios Zagarommatès of the Palatia area in 1249.[2] Despite the fact that there is no direct evidence of such activity by a prôtobestiaritès in Central Greece, the presence of such an official among the governor's staff is much more plausible than that of a prôtobestiarios. So until further material is available, the correction suggested by Lampros may be accepted.[3]

I. Kapnologountes and Zeugologountes.

Fiscal agents who took the name of the tax they collected are easier to identify, but it is often difficult to define what sort of tax this is. The kapnologountes were obviously responsible for the kapnologion, the thirteenth century name for the kapnikon.[4] The zeugologountes presumably collected the zeugologion, a tax on draught animals.[5] As the two taxes were usually calculated and collected together, the officials may have gone round together. In fact they may be the same set of officials who simply adopted the name of the levy which they were in the process of collecting. It is not clear what proportion of the population was liable for these taxes. A law of 1144 exempted clergy from the

1. This is known from a Sèmeiôma of Iôannès Apokaukos, published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Tessarakontaeteris tou K. S. Kontou, Athens, 1909, 379; MM IV, 232-3 mentions the widow of Andronikos Xanthos.
2. MM VI, 181-9, 199-201. This inspection (anatheôresis) was probably connected with a new exisôsis (register) of the area.
3. Cf. page 153 above.
4. M. Ch. II, 106. Cf. MM V, 83.
5. Ibid. II, 106.

zeugologion, but the dependent peasantry (paroikoi) had to pay.[1] They were rated according to the number and type of animals they possessed, into boidatoi, zeugaratoi or dizeugaratoi (owners of a single animal, one pair or two pairs respectively).[2] Paroikoi also had to pay the kapnikon, hearth tax.

Although Michaèl's evidence is not more specific, one interesting feature is that it confirms early thirteenth century evidence from the Lembiôtissa monastery.[3] Fiscal agents in the Empire of Nikaia were also known by the name of the tax they collected.

J. Plôimologoi and Nautologoi.

The plôimologoi were the provincial representatives of the plôimon department at Constantinople. They collected the plôimon tax levied in all maritime provinces for the regular upkeep of the Byzantine navy.[4] They also extracted the irregular contributions, katergoktisia and plôimoi, for the building and maintenance of local naval forces.[5] It was the latter which so angered the Metropolitan of Athens. Because they were not fixed payments, they could be levied by local officials without reference to Constantinople in an entirely arbitrary manner. It is unfortunate that the letter which represents the amount paid for this tax

1. Zepos, Jus GR, III, 432; PG 126, col. 516D, 536A.
2. This classification is recorded in many acts, see for example, MM VI, 7.
3. See H. Ahrweiler, La région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques, 1081-1317, TM I, 1965, 125-7.
4. M. Ch. I, 308; II, 106. Cf. section 3, page 106.
5. The ship-building tax was collected by officials called katergoktistai mentioned once by Michaèl, ibid. II, 107, and recorded also in the Smyrna region, see Ahrweiler, op. cit. 126.

is illegible in the text of the Ypomnèstikon. [1]

By analogy with the zeugologountes, the nautologoi must have collected a tax called nautologion, possibly a tax on sailors. But this is not mentioned by Michaèl or by any other twelfth century author, as far as I know. [2] It does not seem to be another name for any of the established taxes paid by merchant shipping: naulon and antinaulon, limeniatikon or skalitatikon. [3] Perhaps it was a special tax paid by maritime provinces to cover the hire of crews; an additional extraordinary contribution.

The naval taxes levied by the plôimologoi could involve considerable expense. From an early date monastic communities near the coasts sought exemption from both regular and irregular payments. [4] The monasteries of Athos and Patmos which relied on sea transport for their provisions , took care to ensure that they would not be forced to pay all shipping taxes and that their boats and crews would not be pressed into service in the imperial fleet, even in cases of "national crisis". [5] Similarly, the orion of Thebes and Euripos benefitted from a limited exemption from plôimoi payments. [6] Michaèl obviously felt that this was unjust. Attika was so much poorer in resources and yet had to

1. M. Ch. I, 308. It was so many nomismata, ποσότητα νομισμάτων.
2. Ibid. II, 105.
3. On these taxes, see Appendix I, page 276. They are mentioned in many exemption formulas, for example, MM VI, 101, 122, 128, 138, 142.
4. See for example an act of 1082, Actes de Vatopedi, no. 3.
5. MM VI, 52 ; Actes de Lavra, no. 55 (1102)
6. M. Ch. I, 310; II, 107; Dölger, Regest. no. 1665.

pay these taxes, and at a higher rate than that established by apographè.[1] But the Thebans had probably been able to gain a privilege precisely from their position of relative strength; they controlled the most important supply of silk in the Byzantine provinces, whereas Athens had no particular product to use as a bargaining point. The plôimologoi were probably active in the other oria of Greece as well as Athens.

In conclusion, the plethora of financial and administrative officials stationed in Central Greece in the twelfth century account in part for the poverty of the province. After the governor, who might often prefer to stay in Constantinople rather than take up his appointment, the praktôr was the most powerful. Once established in the official residence, the praitôr, antipraitôr or praktôr had almost unrestricted authority within the area and was uncontrollable. This was equally true in other parts of the Empire, for example Michaèl Komnènos who was sent to Mylassa as phorologos, set himself up as an independent ruler.[2] The decline of central control over the provinces which made possible such revolts, was encouraged by the chronic financial problems and preoccupation with foreign affairs which dominated the court throughout the late twelfth century.

In these circumstances, other authorities stepped into positions previously reserved to officials appointed from Constantinople. Not only local landowners, "thematikoi kai ktèmatikoi archontes", took over but also churchmen who normally worked in conjunction with the provincial administrators. Nikolaos, Metropolitan of Corinth, for example, resisted the illegal authority of Leôn Sgouros, whereas no

1. M. Ch. I, 310.
2. N. Ch. 700-1.

civil or military power was organised to restrain his activity. [1]

In comparison with the imperial bureaucracy the centrally-administered Orthodox Church was showing no signs of weakness in the twelfth century. On the contrary, the number of celebrated ecclesiastical scholars, canonists and men of letters active at this time indicates that the Greek clergy were strong and very much alive to threats which the Latins might present to their traditions. [2] So it is perfectly natural to find that churchmen throughout the Empire assisted and sometimes replaced the enfeebled civilian administration. They constituted a force for law and order and worked against the disintegration of imperial power. Michaèl was typical of these well-educated and concerned ecclesiastics, imbued with the 'official' ideology of the Empire. Like many other Bishops he was quite prepared to defend the God-given authority of the Emperor even against severe pirate attacks and local rebellions. As it became clear that Constantinople would not, or could not do anything to help the provinces, the Church was forced to take a more active role. By the end of the century it was often the sole representative of imperial authority in many parts of the Empire.

1. M. Ch. II, 170; N. Ch. 840.
2. On the strength of the Greek clergy, see J. Darrouzès, Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine, REB XXIII, 1965, 42-88. The works of Theodôros Balsamôn, Michaèl Italos, Michaèl Glykas and Eustathios of Thessalonikè indicate the range of scholarship of Orthodox ecclesiastics.

5. The Government of Athens in the twelfth century.

Throughout the twelfth century ecclesiastical influence in provincial administration increased as civilian government declined. This process was most advanced in the cities where both church and lay authorities resided. In the urban centres of the Empire there was a constant possibility of conflict between the two, which was generally avoided by a long tradition of co-operation. But if the Metropolitan or Bishop increased his power at the expense of the governor, the latter was bound to be hostile. A contradictory situation was built into the government of most cities. [1]

The contradictions arose from the major differences in methods of administration. Civilian government was characterised by a concentration of wide powers in one office, but a fairly rapid turnover in personnel; while the ecclesiastical system was based on the limited political power and lengthy residence of Metropolitans in provincial centres. Against the fact that the civil governor had control over taxation, land tenure, justice and defence, and could enforce his decisions by military strength, the cleric could establish a position of much greater personal authority in the city. Provincial Metropolitans usually developed a proprietory concern for their dioceses; it was quite normal for them to stay in their sees for up to twenty years, and during this time they could build up a good relationship with the local population. In addition they were generally literate men who could dominate the intellectual and educational life of the

1. When the Metropolitan of Naupaktos took the part of local people who were in revolt against the governor, Geôrgios (Môrogeôrgios), he was blinded, see Kedrènos II, 482-3.

province. In each city the Metropolitan could be seen to represent the authority of the Patriarch and the Oecumenical Church, and that of the Emperor, who was always mentioned in prayers and sermons. Whereas governors might change every three years, or might not even live in the province, the Metropolitan could embody the element of continuity in administration.[1]

For these reasons city government was often the product of intense hostility, rather than co-operation, between the two authorities. In centres such as Thessalonikè, Nikaia or Antioch, a very delicate balance prevailed. Athens was fortunate in this respect; the civil and ecclesiastical powers were clearly separated. The governor resided at Thebes and the civil administration was run from there, while the diocese of Ellas was administered from Athens. The Metropolitan and the governor were not close neighbours : they corresponded by letter.[2]

But as the largest and most important city in Attika, Athens had always been the residence of a city-archôn. All the chief cities of Greece had such an official appointed from Constantinople. He was responsible for commercial and maritime activity, in the same way as the Prefect

1. The variety of Metropolitan duties in outlying parts of the Empire is well illustrated by twelfth century events. In 1147 Michaèl of Philippopolis negotiated with the German crusaders; Nikètas of Chônai led a sortie against the Turks; Eustathios of Thessalonikè and Michaèl of Athens prepared their cities for siege, see N. Ch. 83-4; 254-7;800; Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica,66-158.Even allowing for Nikètas' bias in favour of Metropolitans Nikètas (his godfather) and Michael (his brother), there can be no doubt that ecclesiastics were often forced to take on non-clerical matters. Cf. R. Browning, Unpublished correspondence between Michael Italicus, Archbishop of Philippopolis and Theodore Prodromos, BB I, 1962, 279-97.
2. Several letters of Michaèl Chôniatès make this clear, see for example II, 67-8; 87; 129-30; 131; 137.

(eparchos) supervised the mercantile life of the capital.[1] In the tenth and eleventh centuries several archontes of Athens are recorded on seals : some, like Anagyros and Nikètas, are known as archôn, others hold the titles of dioikètès and pronoètès. But they all probably had the same authority as the athènarchos recorded in the Life of Osios Meletios.[2]

During the lifetime of this local saint some pilgrims from Western Europe sailing to the Holy Land were caught in a storm off Aigina, and were forced to put into the port of Athens, where the athènarchos arrested them. (For financial reasons as much as security the Byzantines were very careful about the activity of foreigners in the Empire). After Meletios' intervention they were set free and allowed to continue their journey. This seems to illustrate the position of the archon : he was empowered to make arrests without consulting the provincial governor, and was generally responsible for law and order in the city. In this capacity, although he was nominated by Constantinople, he must have assisted the governor, who could not have personally supervised the comings and goings in every city.

No further city-archontes are recorded after about 1105 but the function may have been incorporated into one of the new subdivisions of the province which appeared towards the end of the century. The writings of Michaèl, Alexios III's chrysobull for the Venetians, and the Partitio regni graeci record these subdivisions, which were not restricted

1. On the organisation of the city archontes, see Ahrweiler, La Mer, 57-61. They are recorded in Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Patras and Argos and Nauplion, see V. Laurent, La Collection Orghidan, 127, no. 236; Sigillographie, 170; Corinth XII, nos. 2695, 2705, 2723; Ahrweiler, op. cit. 59, note 2.
2. Life of Osios Meletios, 32-3; Zakythinos, Meletai, I, 272.

to Central Greece. There is no evidence of their existence before the 1190s and no satisfactory explanation of their organisation. In the two Latin documents the terms used for these units are 'catepanikion', 'orium', 'chartularaton' and 'pertinentia'; in the Greek versions they become κατεπανίκιον, ὅριον, χαρτουλαράτον and ἐπίσκεψις. Of these terms only two, episkepsis and orion, are known to Michaèl.[1] The disposition of these units in Ellas and Peloponnesos was as follows: in Thessaly, the episkepseis of Greuennicon and Pharsalon; Domokos and Besaina; Demetrias; Neai Patrai, and one belonging to the Empress; the orion of Larissa and the chartoularaton of Ezeros and Dobrochuuysta. In Central Greece, the orion of Thebes and Euripos with several islands, and the orion of Athens, with the episkepsis of Megara. In the south, the orion of Corinth-Argos-Nauplion; the episkepseis of Branas and Kantakouzènos, and the orion of Patras-Methônè. (Glykis and Glabenitza constituted two chartoularata in Epeiros, and just north of Tempe there was the katepanikion of Kitros and the episkepsis of Platamon.)

Various theories which have been produced to explain these terms can be summarised in the following way :

I. These new units prefigure the well-documented system of katepanikia, developed in many parts of the Empire in the thirteenth century. Katepanikia were primarily fiscal units, often governed by a praktôr or energôn. In size they corresponded roughly to banda, the regular subdivisions of a tenth century province, responsible for a section of the provincial army. The organisation of katepanikia is recorded,

1. M. Ch. I, 308, 310; II, 131. TT I, 264-7; 469-92.

for example in an entalma praktikon.[1] There were eight in the province of Thessalonikè; four in Serrai and Strymon, and several in the Empire of Nikaia.[2]

II. Katepanikia and oria, each one centred on an important maritime city, represent a late-twelfth century revival of the organisation of city-archontes. These governors took on responsibility for the maintenance of local naval detachments; they were appointed by the megas doux from the capital, and they symbolised his overall control in maritime regions of the Empire. Their chief concern was the plôimon tax and other naval payments, which were collected by plôimologoi under their direction. In every orion of Central Greece, except inland Larissa, city-archontes were recorded during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but there is unfortunately no evidence of continuity between these officials and their twelfth century counterparts.[3]

III. The new terms indicate a special twelfth century provincial organisation particular to this period and to the situation of the Empire in the decade before the Frankish conquest. All commentators on the two Latin documents, from T. L. F. Tafel to A. Carile, have tried to identify and define the terms, by relating them to each other and to other characteristics of twelfth century administration.[4] The results are often

1. Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè, VI, 641-2. This set of instructions suggests that the energôn had supreme authority within the area.
2. G. Theocharidès, Katepanikia tès Makedonias, Thessalonikè 1964, 1-5; H. Ahrweiler, La région de Smyrne, TM I, 1965, 126; M. Angold, op. cit. 285, 342-7.
3. Ahrweiler, La Mer, 276-7.
4. See T. L. F. Tafel, Symbolarum criticarum geographiam byzantinam spectantium, 2 parts, Abhandlung der Historischen Klasse der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, V, 1849, Band II, 1-107, III, 1-136: D. Zakythinos, Meletai, I-V; M. Dendias, Symbolè eis tèn tès organôseôs kai leitourgias tès dioikèseôs en tô Byzantinô Kratei peri tèn epochèn tès ypo tôn Phragkôn katalyseôs autou, Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi bizantini, Rome 1953, II, 307-22; A. Carile, Partitio terrarum Imperii Romanie, Studi veneziani, VII, 1965, 125-305.

confused and hypothetical, for example, the suggestion that a chartoularaton was governed by a chartoularios, although there is no evidence of chartoularioi in any aspect of provincial administration at the time. [1] The method, nonetheless, seems to be the correct one : only by looking at the whole spectrum of subdivisions can one hope to understand the changes recorded in these documents.

But none of these theories accounts for a complete re-division of parts of the Empire at a time when provincial administration was not very well supervised by the central government. When, and on whose orders were these new units established? What were their relations with existing provincial administrators? [2]

The evidence from Central Greece is not decisive. But it is clearer because Michaèl Chôniatès provides an additional source of information. He indicates that the oria recorded in the Latin documents were obviously a recognised part of the administration and connects them with payment of the plôimon tax. This supports the second theory. But he gives no clue about the official in charge of the oria. (As there were no katepanikia in Central Greece, it is not surprising that he does not mention them). It is quite possible that oria and katepanikia were identical and were both an instrument of the megas doux' control over coastal areas. One would expect there to be oria centred on Korônè and

1. Dendias, op. cit. 313, 319-21. The assumption that each katepanikion was governed by a katepanô is also incorrect, ibid. 312-3.
2. It is extremely difficult to answer these queries but one can suggest various possibilities. As Andronikos I was clearly the most socially concerned of late twelfth century Emperors, a revision of provincial administration could be attributed to his short reign. Its rather haphazard nature, that is, the lack of uniformity throughout the Empire, could be explained by the opposition of bureaucrats, who prevented the implementation of other projected reforms. But this is merely hypothetical.

Monembasia, for example, both important naval bases, but it is arguable that Patras-Methônè and Corinth-Argos-Nauplion sufficed. The second theory, therefore, is perfectly reasonable, but too limited to explain the variety of units recorded, and too concerned with the undocumented role of archontes.

Even if one admits that the orion and katepanikion served an identical role, to use thirteenth century evidence retrospectively would not help to explain the situation. And it would probably give an entirely misleading impression of well-arranged administration. So the first theory should not be used.

Given the weakness of provincial administration towards the end of the twelfth century, it seems more likely that these small units developed under local pressures rather than through imperial initiative. They may represent an effort of provincial cities to protect themselves against the rapacity of tax officials, rather than a new system of provincial government imposed by the central administration. So the third theory provides the best approach to the problem.

The term 'episkepsis' is significant in this context. Michaèl uses it in the sense of a landed estate, referring to the "athènaikè episkepsis", the property belonging to the diocese of Athens. This property would have been made up of churches, monasteries, proasteia (estates), gardens, orchards and irrigated fields. [1] It was registered in special lists, the praktika of the church of Athens. But the term episkepsis could be applied to lands belonging to any institution or individual: the Treasury, a member of the imperial family, or a local landlord. Properties might be scattered but they would usually be recorded on a

1. M. Ch. II, 89, 131; PL 215, cols. 1559-62. Cf. chapter IV, section 2.

single praktikon. The term was in current use and was in no way particular to the twelfth century. [1]

Every small unit mentioned in these documents was based on a town of some importance in the province; Demetrias, Neai Patrai or Ezeros, for example. Each of these centres had its episkepsis, the land immediately surrounding the town. It is very plausible that the citizens should have wanted to protect this land from additional and extraordinary taxation. If the praitôr's visit could be as crippling as the Metropolitan of Athens indicates, every town would attempt to keep the governor out. [2] This is precisely what the 'Boiôtarchountai' achieved : they drove the official party from the narrow bridge which linked Euripos to the mainland, preventing it from crossing to Euboia. [3] The anarchic conditions in Central Greece would have encouraged this development of self-protection. Cities, which were relatively more prosperous than rural areas, would feel the need for some sort of organisation. The fact that Larissa, Almyros, Thebes and Euripos, among others, offered a planned resistance to the crusaders, illustrates this process. [4]

This analysis can not account for the particular terms used in the documents, the apparently arbitrary selection of orion, katepanikion and chartoularaton. But it does help to explain how a seemingly new system could have developed, through a combination of the pressure of provincial conditions, and centrally-imposed maritime reforms. The development should be closely linked to popular unrest, the influence of

1. Sometimes it appears to be used almost as a straight-forward geographical term, as for example in a sigillion of the sebastokratôr, Nikèphoros Petraliphas, who owned estates in Thessaly. It refers to the "epoikoi tès episkepseôs", see Actes de Xeropotamou, no. 8 (c. 1200).
2. M. Ch. I, 308-10; II, 106-7.
3. Ibid. I, 315-6.
4. Henri de Valenciennes, op. cit. para 659-63; 672-9.

Vlach and Bulgar uprisings, and the military activity of Kammytzès and Sgouros. [1]

In the orion of Athens there is no evidence of an official who might correspond to the eleventh century 'athènarchos'. But the presence of such an official may be hidden behind references to the plôimologoi in Athens. Similarly, in the orion of Thebes and Euripos, the architelônès recorded by Euthymios Malakès, may have been archôn. [2] The lack of evidence would suggest, however, that orion-archontes were not very active or efficient, perhaps because the megas doux was often extremely inefficient.

The absence of a governor in the orion of Athens meant that the Metropolitan had no civilian rival in the city. Not only did the praitôr reside in Thebes, but he was officially prevented from visiting the orion and city of Athens, except unattended and for personal reasons. [3] This important privilege was recorded in an imperial prostagma, which was probably granted to the city before Michaèl became Metropolitan in 1182. One of his distinguished predecessors, Geôrgios Bourtzès or Nikolaos Agiotheodôritès could possibly have negotiated this favour. [4] It gave

1. Dendias, op. cit. 320 points out the instability of a large transhumant population in these conditions.
2. EM I, 49.
3. M. Ch. I, 308.
4. M. Ch. II, 54, 71, 107; Dölger, Regest. no. 1541. Cf. J. Darrouzès, Obit de deux Métropolites d'Athènes Léon Xéros et Georges Bourtzès d'après les inscriptions du Parthénon, REB XX, 1962, 190-6.

Athens a special position in the Empire, as one of the few highly privileged cities where a measure of local independence survived. [1] Corfu and Monembasia were similarly favoured. The fact that Michaèl was unable to prevent contraventions of this imperial edict does not alter the fact that the power of the governor of Ellas and Peloponnesos was severely curtailed.

1. G. Bratianu, Privilèges et franchises municipales dans l'Empire byzantin, Bucarest 1936, 104-114; Dölger, Regesten. nos. 1287, 1288, 1542-6. Cf. MM V, 14-15; P. Lemerle, Trois actes du despote d'Epire, Michel II concernant Corfu, Ellènika (Paratema 4) Prosphora eis St. Kyriakidèn, 1953.

6. The Government of the Metropolitan see of Athens.

Provincial Metropolitans administered their sees with the help of a team of ecclesiastical officials modelled on the staff of the Patriarch. It was naturally much smaller, less well trained and had fewer responsibilities than the Patriarchal team, which organised everything to do with the Great Church of Holy Wisdom in the capital, as well as looking after the very extensive estates, institutions and monasteries under the Patriarch. Despite these differences in size and scope, the role of the officials was basically the same. So by examining the organisation of Patriarchal government, one can establish the framework of provincial ecclesiastical administration.[1]

To maintain services in the Great Church, the Patriarch employed a large body of clergy, most of them deacons. From the deacons he recruited the staff who worked in the two most important sectors of Patriarchal administration: the archontes and the didaskaloi, responsible respectively for running the Patriarchate and for teaching in the Patriarchal schools.[2] The former controlled ministries corresponding to the civilian departments of state, through which all Patriarchal property was administered. The latter provided both ecclesiastical and secular teaching in the numerous schools of Constantinople, most of which were connected to the Patriarchal Academy. Training in either sector was regarded as almost essential for those making a career in the Church, and a very large number of twelfth

1. On Patriarchal organisation see J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les Ὀφφίκια de l'église byzantine, Paris, 1970, hereafter cited as Offikia. This book has suggested several basic revisions to the older work of L. Clugnet, Les offices et dignités dans l'Eglise Grecque, ROC III, 1898, 142-50, 260-4, 452-7; IV, 1899, 116-28; Dèmètriou, Oi exôkatakoiloi archontes tès en Kônstantinopolin Megalès Ekklèsias, Athens, 1927; and T. Papadopoullos, Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination, Brussels, 1952, 61-9 especially.
2. Darrouzès, Offikia, 58-78; R. Browning, The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century, B XXXII, 1962, 167-202; XXXIII, 1963, 11-40.

century Patriarchs and Metropolitans were elected from among the staff. [1]

The organisation of Patriarchal administration is recorded in lists of ecclesiastical offices, many dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A recent re-examination of these lists, especially the earlier ones, has suggested that the official hierarchy was not nearly so fixed and inflexible as previously considered. [2] Rank and function were probably not rigidly correlated in the twelfth century, though the positions of the six chief officials were fairly stable. They were the megas oikonomos, megas sakellarios, megas skeuophylax, chartophylax, sakellion and prôtekdikos, all six archontes, known as the exôkatakoiloi. [3] In some lists the teachers appear, but there is evidence to suggest that their positions were recorded on separate lists and that they formed a separate hierarchy. [4] As they had no provincial equivalents, they will not be treated here.

The archontes were responsible to the Patriarch for the running of the Great Church, all other churches and monasteries under his control and the orphanages, hospitals, hostels and other institutions placed under the protection of the Church. [5] They also provided a secretariat to service the

1. For example, the Metropolitans Eustathios of Thessalonikè; Nikèphoros Chrysobergès of Sardis; Grègorios Pardos and Stephanos Chrysobergès, both of Corinth; Geôrgios Tornikès and Nikolaos Mesaritès, both of Ephesos. Among twelfth century Patriarchs the following were trained in the patriarchal staff: Michaèl of Anchialos; Nikètas Mountanès; Basileios Kamatèros; Geôrgios Xiphilinos; Iôannès Kamatèros and Michaèl Autôreianos.
2. Darrouzès, Offikia, 1-5.
3. Clugnet, op. cit. 142-50 ; Dèmètriou, op. cit. 10-23, 27-31. Darrouzès, Offikia, 100-1 publishes the lists for 1170 and 1191, which reveal the promotion of prôtekdikos effected by Patriarch Geôrgios Xiphilinos.
4. Browning, op. cit. 169; Darrouzès, Offikia, 98.
5. Their activities were therefore not limited to the capital; for example, in 1094 Kônstantinos, "klèrikos tès megalès ekklèsias, koubouklеisios, archiatros kai epi tou patriarchikou sekretou", ordered the monks of two monasteries on Mount Latros to bring their dispute to the Synod of Constantinople, MM IV, 315-7. This order was counter-signed by two deacons and by the chartophylax, Michaèl Choumnos.

supreme authority in the Church, the Holy Synod, composed of all the Metropolitans.[1] In this respect the chartophylax was a key official and his subordinates played an extremely prominent part in the general administratic of the Church. All acts and decisions of the Synod were recorded and promulgated by the chartophylakion. The role of the archontes in relation to the Synod has been described as that of a legislative team to an executive body. The exact position of individual archontes within the Synod is still problematic; as the Metropolitans tended to resent the activity, particularly of the chartophylax, there was often friction.[2]

In the provinces this problem did not arise. The Metropolitan was the highest authority within his see; if a local synod was convened, it did not generally challenge his position, only his judgement. Intransigent disagreements between a Metropolitan and one of his bishops or abbots would usually be resolved through the intervention of another Metropolitan or by appeal to the Synod at Constantinople.[3]

The provincial officials attached to each Metropolitan see held the same titles as the patriarchal archontes, though without the epithet megalos, megas but their powers were a pale reflection of the archontes'. As there were generally few deacons in provincial sees, the level of education and the

1. On the Synod, see S. Vailhé, Le Droit d'appel en Orient et le Synode permanent de Constantinople, EO XX 1921, 129-46; M. Hajjar, Le Synode permanent dans L'Eglise Byzantine, OCP no. 164, Rome, 1962. Darrouzès, Offikia, 334-6, points out that the Synod acted almost as a separate authority in the capital. It certainly hampered the activity of the archontes. In the twelfth century the enforced residence of many Metropolitans in Constantinople, coupled with the fact that others always enjoyed a visit to the capital, re-activated the Synod.
2. Darrouzès, Offikia, 64-6, 98, 333-73.
3. Vailhé, op. cit. 146 . A dispute between the Metropolitan of Neai Patrai and the Bishop of Euripos was resolved by Michael as Metropolitan of Athens, see page 188.

standard of training was probably much lower. The personnel was very limited. In some regions the archontes not only had no assistants but also had part-time jobs in addition to their ecclesiastical duties. [1] Until the thirteenth century Thessalonikè was the only European see to compete with Constantinople. In other sees the number of archontes and their efficiency varied considerably. Obviously the older and more populous sees which controlled extensive property, would need a larger team than recently-created sees. But there was no uniformity. [2]

Athens was undoubtedly one of the oldest of the Greek Metropolitan sees. Since its creation, in about 806, it had accumulated property in many parts of Central Greece. [3] It had one of the most famous and beautiful metropolitan churches, the re-arranged Parthenon, dedicated to the Theotokos (Mother of God), and controlled many churches and monasteries in the region. In addition, Athens had been governed by a series of very capable men during the twelfth century. Nearly all of them had been trained in the Patriarchal chancellery and were fully aware of the methods and practices adopted in the capital. It seems likely that they tried to reproduce these traditions, albeit in restricted ways, in

1. Darrouzès, Offikia, 117-22, quoting the examples furnished by the Metropolitan see of Smyrna, cf. H. Ahrweiler, La région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques, 1081-1317, TM I, 1965, 108-114.
2. The relatively unimportant Bishppric of Ierissos developed quite a large staff to deal with the claims of many Athonite monasteries to land in the area. In the eleventh century Michaèl, kouratôr; Nikolaos, nomikos and prôtekdikos; Kônstantinos, archidiakonos kai nomikos, and Geôrgios, oikonomos, are recorded, see Actes de Lavra, nos. 18, 35, 40.
3. V. Laurent, l'Erection de la Métropole d'Athènes et le statut ecclésiastique de l'Illyricum au VIIIe siècle, EB I, 1943, 58-78.

their own administration. [1]

Michaèl was certainly no exception to this general custom. He had spent many years in Patriarchal service, chiefly as ypogrammateus (secretary), and had known many of the archontes and teachers of the capital. [2] From Athens he kept up a correspondence with many of them, including his old teacher, Eustathios who became Metropolitan of Thessalonikè in about 1175; Theodôsios Borradiôtès, Patriarch 1178-83; Geôrgios Xiphilinos, megas skeuophylax and subsequently Patriarch, 1191-8; and Michaèl Autôreianos, later Patriarch at Nikaia. It appears that Michaèl never held the formal position of one of the archontes or teachers; he was responsible for editing material and for writing orations and speeches. [3]

From the writings dating from his administration of Athens, it seems that the Metropolitan see had officials equivalent to most of the highest class of archontes at the capital. The oikonomos, sakellarios, skeuophylax, chartophylax and prôtekdikos are mentioned; only the sakelliou is not recorded. [4] Among the middle class of assistants, only the ypomnèmatographos is known, and of the lowest class of subordinates, the repherendarios is mentioned. [5] Although this may sound a very inadequate team, it probably compared favourably with the archontes of smaller sees such as Thebes or Neai Patrai. Euthymios Malakès mentions only one chartoularios and one "koubouklеisios kai diakonos" among his assistants. [6]

1. Nikolaos Agiotheodôritès, 1160-75; Geôrgios Bourtzès, 1153-60 and Leôn Xèros, who died in 1153, were among the Metropolitans of Athens. Nikolaos was particularly well-versed in Patriarchal customs, see V. Grumel, Titulature de Métropolites byzantins, Mémorial L. Petit, Bucarest 1948, 159-63.
2. Michaèl described his training in the Monody written on the death of his brother, Nikètas, M. Ch. I, 347-9, cf. II, 1-2, 8-10, 5-7.
3. Ibid. II, 2-3, 5-7, 8-10, 22-3; II, 13-4, 19-21, 34-5, 38-9, 55-6 (most of these letters to Theodôsios were addressed to Terebinthos, where he had retreated after his deposition in 1185); II, 18-9, 100-1; II, 7-8, 11-3, 66-7, 112-4, 152-5.
4. Ibid. II, 138, 30 and 290, 32, 243-4 and 318; 313.
5. Ibid. II, 284, 285, 314; I, 310.
6. EM I, 51-2.

The fact that several of the Athenian archontes are recorded in letters written from the island of Kea, after 1205 when Michaèl was forced to leave his see, does not mean that these titles were necessarily honorary.[1] Although Berard, the first Latin Archbishop of Athens, took over Michaèl's position in about 1206, the Orthodox organisation did not disappear. Berard demanded that the Greek clergy should recognise his authority or resign their posts, but only one of the bishops adopted the first course.[2] Michaèl's officials kept him informed about the situation in Central Greece and the orthodox Church in Epeiros. Geôrgios Bardanès, in particular, was active as ypomnèmatographos and later chartophylax of Athens. He and the sakellarios continued to look after the church records and the Greek monasteries which survived the arrival of the Franks.[3] They were aided by a group of deacons from the Great Church, called the Agiosophitai, who fled from Constantinople to Euboia. Among them was Euthymios Tornikès, nephew of Michaèl's friend Dèmètrios Tornikès, logothetès tou dromou, and of Euthymios Malakès, Metropolitan of Neai Patrai. Greek clergy were by no means excluded from Central Greece by the conquest.[4]

The position of the Orthodox Church was greatly assisted by the activity of the Despotate of Epeiros and the Metropolitan of Naupaktos, Iôannès

1. The chartophylax, prôtekdikos and ypomnèmatographos are mentioned only post 1205.
2. Innocent III ordered Morosini, the first Latin Patriarch of Constantinople to be tolerant of Orthodox practice, and both Berard and the Latin Bishop of Patras received the same sort of instructions in April 1207, see PL CCXV, cols. 959, 1142, 1030-1. See also J. Longnon, L'organisation de l'église d'Athènes, Mémorial Louis Petit, Bucharest, 1948, 336-46; R. Wolff, The Organisation of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-61. Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest, Traditio, VI, 1948, 33-60.
3. Michaèl's letters to the abbots of many monasteries illustrate the vitality of Orthodox communities, see for example, M. Ch. II, 148-9, 155-7, 272-3, 311-3, 313-4.
4. The other deacons were Nikolaos Pistophilos and Manuel Beriboès, whose families lived in Euripos, Ibid. II, 221-5, 225-32, 232-4, 298-300 and others.

Apokaukos.[1] Because the see of Naupaktos was protected by the armies of Michaèl Doukas Aggelos, it was able to surplant the authority of Athens in Central Greece. After the victorious campaign of 1219-20 which restored Greek control in the area, it was Iôannès Apokaukos rather than Michaèl who appointed the new Metropolitans of Neai Patrai and Larissa, and the bishop of Demetrias.[2] This development was part of the rivalry that grew up between the Despots of Epeiros and the Emperors of Nikaia. In this period Apokaukos was severely criticised by the Patriarch at Nikaia, but he maintained that the Patriarch had no right to interfere in the affairs of the independent Epeirot Church.[3] Michaèl and Iôannès had a long and fairly amicable correspondence, but the old Metropolitan of Athens was probably annoyed by Iôannès' claims.[4]

Before 1205 Michaèl records the activity of three archontes of the Church of Athens - the oikonomos, sakellarios and skeuophylax. The first was one of the most important administrators, having responsibility for the financial revenue of the see.[5] The oikonomos, who appears to have appropriated the epithet megalos, is mentioned in a letter to the Metropolitan of Thebes, with whom Michaèl had several arguments about a certain monastery in the area. On this occasion he wrote to inform the Metropolitan that his official would be visiting the monasteries which were under the control of Athens, to announce a synodal decision. As the see of Athens was very rich, both

1. See D.M. Nicol, The Despotate of Epiros, Oxford, 1957, 76-102.
2. V. Vasilievskȳ, Epirotica Saeculi XIII, VV III, 1896, 243-4, 246-8, 276.
3. Nicol, op. cit. 79-99.
4. Seven letters from Michaèl to Iôannès, and four from Iôannès to Michaèl are known, see M. Ch. II, 281-2, 330-2, 332-3, 339-46, 350-1; Vasilievskȳ, op. cit. 233-4, 234-5; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athènaika ek tou XII kai XIII aiônos, Armonia, III, 1902, 285-90.
5. On the duties of the oikonomos, see Darrouzès, Offikia, 303-9.

in land and property, the megalos oikonomos was probably responsible for collecting rents from all parts of the diocese. He must have kept the accounts and looked after the resources of the see. [1]

In a very interesting letter written shortly after his arrival in Athens, Michaèl explained his reasons for not promoting the sakellarios, Phôkas, to the position of skeuophylax. [2] The official had probably requested this promotion from the new Metropolitan. As sakellarios he was in charge of the chapels and monasteries in the diocese and for their financial contribution to ecclesiastical funds. The position of skeuophylax was probably a more prestigious one, as it involved the custody of all the sacred vessels, liturgical books, vestments and objects used in services. This could amount to a considerable treasury, depending on the wealth and possessions of the church. [3] Nearly every church and monastery had a skeuophylax, even if it had no other officials. [4] Judging by Michaèl's account of the Church of the Theotokos at Athens, it may have had a large and valuable treasury. [5] As Phôkas, however, was blind and thus hardly in a position to look after things, Michaèl refused to appoint him. He pointed out that it was against canon law for a blind man to hold this post, and Phôkas presumably continued as sakellarios. [6] Some one else must have been appointed but no other skeuophylax is recorded. After 1205 the post of sakellarios was filled by Pleurès, to whom Michaèl wrote one letter. [7]

1. M. Ch. II, 138.
2. Ibid. II, 30-4. Cf. Darrouzès, Offikia, 310-4.
3. Darrouzès, Offikia, 312-8.
4. All the monasteries of Mount Athos had a skeuophylax (and many an oikonomos too), and the Church of the Theotokos at Thessalonikè, see Actes de Lavra, no. 59.
5. M. Ch. I, 104, 325; II, 27.
6. Ibid. II, 32.
7. Ibid. II, 290-1.

Before the Latin conquest there is no evidence that the see of Athens had a chartophylax (recorder), but at some time after Michaèl's departure he appointed Geôrgios Bardanès ypomnèmatographos, assistant to an unidentified chartophylax. [1] Geôrgios, son of Dèmètrios, Bishop of Karystos in Euboia, was a pupil of Michaèl's and kept up a long and affectionate correspondence with him, even after his appointment to the Metropolitan see of Kerkyra (Corfu) in 1219. [2] As ypomnèmatographos he would have assisted the chartophylax, together with the prôtonotarios, logothetès and ieromnèmôn. The four officials formed a separate group at Constantinople, responsible for the basic work of the chartophylakion - issuing and counter-signing all patriarchal documents, looking after the Patriarchal library, storing all records, including the registers of births, deaths and marriages in the capital. In addition to these wide-ranging duties, the chartophylax presided over an important court which judged cases of clerical discipline. Despite the fact that the chartophylax held fifth position among the highest group of archontes, he appears to have been the representative of the Patriarch and probably the most influential. [3]

Provincial chartophylakes were presumably correspondingly important to the administration of Metropolitan sees. Unfortunately no documents which might illustrate their activity survive. Even when Geôrgios was promoted to this position, its function is not clarified. [4] In Athens the size of Michaèl's library and his constant desire to add to it might have

1. He mentions the chartophylax as "theophilestatos" and a mutual friend, but does not identify him by name, ibid. II, 243, (in a letter to Geôrgios). The first occasion on which Geôrgios is called ypomnèmatographos occurs in II, 284.
2. There are ten letters from Michaèl to his pupil spanning a period of over twelve years.
3. On the importance of the chartophylax, see Darrouzès, Offikia, 334-53; Clugnet, op. cit. 1898, 148-9; Dèmètriou, op. cit. 18-20; Beurlier, Le chartophylax de la Grande Eglise de Constantinople, IIIe Congrès scientifique international des Catholiques, vol. IV, 252-69.
4. M. Ch. II, 243-5; 314-7, 318-9.

stimulated the chartophylax to organise some copying of manuscripts.[1] Similarly the Metropolitan's regular interventions in the monastic life of the diocese would have demanded a certain amount of paper-work which would have been the responsibility of the chartophylax.[2] During Michaèl's exile in Kea, Bardanès probably acted as his representative among the Orthodox population on the mainland. In 1218 he was attached to the Bishopric of Grevena, in the mountains south of Kastoria, although he still held the post of chartophylax of Athens. But on his election to Kerkyra the following year, he relinquished it.[3] No mention is made of a replacement for him; perhaps by this time officials attached to the see of Naupaktos had taken over these responsibilities.

The other office of the highest group of archontes which is recorded by Michaèl is that of prôtekdikos. At Constantinople this official was the first of several ekdikoi (judges), who presided over a special public tribunal which judged murderers who sought religious asylum. In the Great Church there was a shrine reserved for murderers and a particular spot where the tribunal met.[4] Although this tribunal only existed in the capital - in the provinces Metropolitans would hear such cases - the provincial prôtekdikos probably had a judicial role. Michaèl does not provide any

1. Michaèl reveals that he copied manuscripts himself and expected his pupils to undertake the same work, ibid. II, 242, 206. Geôrgios made a copy of the Nikandros ms. Ibid. 242. On the library of the Metropolitan, see S. Lampros, Peri tès bibliothèkès tou Mètropolitou Athènôn Michaèl Akominatou, Athènaion VI, 1877-8, 354-67.
2. See for example, the letter to Euthymios of Neai Patrai about scandalous behaviour in the Myrriniou monastery, ibid. II, 119.
3. Vasilievsky, op. cit. 248-50, Iôannès Apokaukos refers to the fact that Geôrgios was still chartophylax of Athens.
4. E. Herman, CMH IV, ii, 115-8; Darrouzès, Offikia, 323-32. In 1185 Isaac Aggelos fled to the sanctuary of Agia Sophia after the murder of Stephanos Agiochristophoritès, an official of Andronikos I, N. Ch. 446.

information about his prôtekdikos, Orphanos, except the fact that he had suffered under the Latin occupation and wanted to join the Saint Meletios monastery on Mount Kithairon. He wrote to the kathègoumenos Iôannikios asking him to receive Orphanos into the community, and indicating that he was a suitable candidate. [1]

The four offices of the middle group of archontes were those of prôtonotarios, logothetès, ypomnèmatographos and ieromnèmôn, of which Michaèl records only the third. All four were chiefly involved with the work of the chartophylax at Constantinople, so perhaps it is not surprising that there should be only one in a provincial see, where so much less business was conducted. It would be dangerous to illustrate the role of the ypomnèmatographos from the activity of Geôrgios Bardanès, as he was clearly working in extraordinary circumstances. But some of the jobs which he did for Michaèl were probably characteristic of the ypomnèmatographos' work. He went to visit the monastery of Kaisarianè, for example, to collect the honey which was regularly provided for the Metropolitan. The kathègoumenos not only refused to give him the ten boxes but claimed that there was no honey, and Michaèl had to write a special letter. [2] Geôrgios was sent several times to Athens to try and find books from Michaèl's library which had been scattered among friends, and to see various people who might be able to assist the Orthodox clergy. There was a whole network of such people, the doctors Iôannès Kalokairos and Nikolaos Kalodoukès, Michaèl's nephews Nikètas, Geôrgios and Michaèl and old friends such as Manuel Yalas and Dèmètrios Makrembolitès. Geôrgios seems to have been

1. M. Ch. II, 313.
2. Ibid. II, 311-2.

the agent who kept them all in touch with the exiled Metropolitan. [1] This activity can hardly be seen as a training for the superior position of chartophylax, which Geôrgios later held in the same circumstances. But Michaèl was constantly reminding his pupil of the importance of learning, correcting his grammar and syntax, and recommending authors to study. He tried as far as possible to replace the systematic training which Geôrgios would have received had he been able to attend the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople.

Of the subordinate archontes of Metropolitan administration, Michaèl records only the repherendarios. This official was the formal contact between the Patriarch and Emperor; he carried the Patriarch's messages and accompanied him on ceremonial occasions. [2] The context of Michaèl's reference suggests that he was reporting the activity of this official, the Patriarch's repherendarios, and not of a provincial equivalent. This is not absolutely clear, but the hypothesis is supported by two points: firstly, Michaèl complained that the repherendarios caused as much damage as the praitôr when he visited the city; and secondly, that he was associated with the mystikos, a high-ranking official from the imperial court. [3] It

1. Michaèl's friendship with the doctors appears to have stemmed partly from his interest in Galen, but chiefly from his own ill-health and slightly neurotic concern. He was nonetheless anxious about their conditions after 1205, ibid. II, 234-7, 275. His nephews received many letters, see for example, II, 162-75, 237-41, 248-9. For letters to Yalas and Makrembolitès, see II, 244-7, 292-4 and others.
2. Clugnet, op. cit. 263-4; R. Guilland, Le décanos et le référendaire, REB V, 1947, 94-7; De Cer. I, 9, 225, 246; II, 615-6, 621.
3. M. Ch. I, 310. Stadtmueller, op. cit. 296-7, corrects "depherendarios" to repherendarios but he identifies this official as one of the administrators of the Church of Athens, which is unlikely. The "mystikos" is defined by Herman, op. cit. 26, as 'confidential secretary to the Emperor'. The official was one of the most influential figures in the imperial chancellery, see R. Guilland, Le mystique, REB XXVI, 1968, 279-96; Doelger, Regesten, no. 1550 (1181). Eustathios of Thessalonikè wrote to the mystikos, PG CXXXVI, letter 37. There is no suggestion in the twelfth century sources that provincial mystikoi existed.

seems possible that neither official was appointed locally; both had been sent from the capital. A junior official of the mystikos, the ypodrèstèr, is mentioned in much the same terms in another letter of Michaèl.[1] Perhaps it was this ypodrèstèr who was actually in Greece with the repherendarios, but the Metropolitan referred to his senior in an attempt to convince the Emperor of the desperate situation. He does not make clear what has happened except in the most vague terms, but he probably assumed that the Emperor would know what the mystikos (or his subordinate) and repherendarios were doing in Central Greece.

No other clerical officials are mentioned by Michaèl, although this may not mean that there were no other deacons, chartoularioi or koubouklеisioi.[2] None of the subordinate officials, ypomimnèskôn, epi tôn kriseôn, epi tôn deèseôn or episkopeianoi are recorded.[3] Michaèl had two secretaries, however, who may have filled the role of notarioi in the Metropolitan administration. Nikolaos Antiocheitès may well have been recruited in Athens, to be grammatikos for local affairs.[4] The important role of messenger was reserved to Thômas, a devoted friend of Michaèl who carried many bundles of letters from Greece to the capital and back.[5]

With this relatively small staff Michaèl ran the see of Athens. Because the possessions of Athens were scattered in other dioceses of Greece,

1. M. Ch. II, 125.
2. See page 177, and cf. Darrouzès, Offikia, 39-44, 79.
3. Darrouzès, Offikia, 374-87.
4. M. Ch. II, 36. Cf. II, 136-7 a letter to a very holy man Èsias Antiocheitès, who seems to have lived in or near Monembasia.
5. Thômas is always referred to as "entimotatos", not an important title, but one which probably indicates Michaèl's respect for him, ibid. II, 96, 98, 106, 109. The Metropolitan of Thebes also had a secretary, grammatikos, II, 199-200.

Michaèl was in communication with the Metropolitans of Thebes and Neai Patrai. [1] He also wrote often to Eustathios in Thessalonikè (but for different reasons) and after 1205 he corresponded with Iôannès Apokaukos in Naupaktos, who gradually usurped control over Central Greece. [2] Despite its proximity he never wrote to Corinth or had any relationship with the unfortunate Nikolaos who was murdered by Leôn Sgouros. [3] Similarly there was no communication with Larissa. Possibly Athens had no property in either Peloponnesos or Thessaly and therefore had no reason to get in touch with the Metropolitans.

There is very little evidence for the method of government adopted by Michaèl. He does not appear to have been in close touch with his suffragan bishops, as only those of Karystos and Daulia are mentioned throughout his letters. [4] But he did write once to the Bishop of Gardikion and Peristera, two sees under Larissa which must have been united during the twelfth century. This letter made a specific request about workmen allegedly known to Bishop Epiphanios, and had no ecclesiastical purpose. [5] Michaèl kept a much tighter control however, over the monasteries subordinated to the see of Athens. Many of these are recorded in the letter of Pope Innocent III to Archbishop Berard, who took possession of the see in about 1206. Almost all the most renowned were controlled by the Metropolitan - for example, Saint Meletios monastery, Kaisarianè, the monastery of

1. Ibid. II, 24 (to Iôannès of Thebes), 137-8, 138 (to his successor Manuel) 25-6, 26-30, 35-7, 37-8 (to Euthymios of Neai Patrai) and many others.
2. See note 4 page 179.
3. Ibid. II, 170.
4. Ibid. II, 205-6, 119.
5. Ibid. II, 69.

the Philosophers, that of the Agioi Omologètoi, and the monastery at Daphni. [1] Only a few of the foundations in Central Greece were "stauropeiètoi", independent monasteries under the authority of the Patriarch. [2] From the houses under Athens, the Metropolitan drew ecclesiastical revenues and produce, for example the Ymettos foundations were supposed to provide supplies of the famous honey. [3] In any dispute which arose within the monastery, or between it and its neighbours, the Metropolitan was the final authority. Michaèl was apparently a severe disciplinarian; alternatively, standards in the Greek monasteries were lax, for there were several cases of abuse which he took up with alacrity. [4]

Apart from these chance references to Metropolitan intervention, there is no indication about the running of the see. The duties of a Metropolitan were primarily to manage the election of Bishops and lesser clergy; to ensure high standards of learning and discipline; to preach regularly within the diocese and in the Metropolitan church; to collect ecclesiastical taxation destined for the Patriarchate and to carry out any decisions of the Patriarch or Holy Synod which had to be implemented in the provinces. [5] There is evidence to illustrate several aspects of Metropolitan activity, but it is all very partial. The teaching which Michaèl did himself and his encouragement of learning has already been mentioned in connection with his pupil Geôrgios Bardanès. [6] A local synod seems to have been convoked

1. PL 215, letter CCLVI, cols. 1559-62.
2. The monastery of the Koimèsis of the Theotokos on Mount Sagmatas in Boiotia was "autodespoton", self-governing, under Patriarchal control, MM V, 253.
3. M. Ch. II, 311.
4. Ibid. II, 119-20.
5. E. Herman, Appunti sul diritto metropolitano della chiesa bizantina, OCP XIII, 1947, 522-50.
6. See above page 182-4.

soon after Michaèl's arrival in Greece to discuss the behaviour of the Bishop of Euripos; at least this could be inferred from the fact that Michaèl ordered the Bishop and the abbots (ègoumenoi) to come to Athens. They refused, and the Metropolitan was forced to travel to Euboia, where he delivered a homily and had a meeting attended by the participants, the ecclesiastical archontes, and a monk Kallistos.[1] It is difficult to sort out this event, which is recorded in the correspondence of Michaèl and Euthymios Malakès, but the problem seems to have been resolved by the death of Bishop Balsam a few years later. Whether the meeting constituted an official synod of the diocese or not is impossible to say.

It is clear that the Patriarch, Basileios Kamatèros (1183-5), had instructed Michaèl to look into this matter.[2] Similarly Patriarchal orders gave Michaèl responsibility for the island of Aigina, which must have been owned largely by the Patriarchate. The taxes from the island (akrostichon) had to be collected and forwarded to Constantinople, a task which Michaèl was unable to fulfil for three years owing to a pirate base established there.[3] As his relations with most late twelfth century Patriarchs were based on personal friendship, Michaèl was an important and useful contact for Constantinople.[4] It may well have been at the instigation of Iôannès Kamatèros that he went to Thessalonikè to discuss the Latin occupation of Greece with the papal legate, Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna.[5] All Metropolitans represented the authority of the Patriarch in the provinces; Michaèl perhaps with greater sincerity than most.

1. M. Ch. II, 26-30; I, 180-6.
2. Ibid. II, 27, cf. Grumel, Actes des Patriarches, II, no. 1164 (1185).
3. M. Ch. II, 75, cf. ibid. II, 43 on piracy.
4. It is clear that Michaèl knew Patriarchs Theodôsios, Basileios, Geôrgios and Michaèl Autôreianos.
5. M. Ch. II, 312.

One aspect of Metropolitan government is totally undocumented. This is the relationship between the Metropolitan and owners of private churches, usually founded by rich families. Many foundations are recorded, for example the church of Agioi Theodôroi in Athens, which was repaired by Nikolaos Kalomalos in 1049. As the second founder, he secured rights for his family over the church, which was probably immune from metropolitan interference.[1] This field of ecclesiastical ownership was closely connected to another, far more pernicious in the eyes of the Church. This was the endowment of secular people with ecclesiastical foundations, churches, hospitals, orphanages, estates, monasteries or any other. Individuals were allowed to administer this property for a given period of time and were often permitted to leave it to a relative by will; the land or building was alienated from the control of the Church, and might be permanently lost. The system was called charistikè and the beneficiary, charistikarios.[2] In 1089 the Metropolitan see of Athens was so impoverished by this system of leasing the most productive and profitable monastic estates to lay people, that a patriarchal act was passed to ensure their return to the Metropolitan.[3] This illustrates the potential wealth of monasteries and helps to explain Michaèl's strict control over them. As he does not mention

1. CIG IV, no. 8803; A. H. S. Megaw, The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches, BSA XXXII, 1931-2, 90-130; V. Laurent, Nicolas Kalomalos et l'église des Ss. Théodore, Ellènika VII, 1934, 72-82.
2. E. Herman, Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine: typika ktetorika, caristicari e monasteri 'liberi', OCP VI, 1940, 293-375; J. Darrouzès, Dossier sur le charisticariat, Polychronion... F. Doelger, Heidelberg, 1966, 150-65: H. Ahrweiler, Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de Fondations Pieuses aux X-XIe siècles, ZRBI X, 1967, 1-28; P. Lemerle, Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: les monastères donnés à des laics, les charisticaires, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes rendus, Jan-March 1967, 9-28.
3. Grumel, Régestes, no. 952.

the institution of charistikè at all, one can assume that Athens was in full possession of its lands and property, but it would be extremely interesting to know what Michaèl thought of the rich private chapels being built all over Greece at this time. Clearly in one respect they denoted piety, but in another they weakened his control over the area.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, it is impossible to illustrate all aspects of Michaèl's administration of the see of Athens, but sufficient evidence survives to suggest that the Metropolitan was firmly in control of all ecclesiastical affairs. He used the strong moral authority endowed by his position to try and improve both the material and spiritual lives of the Athenians, and succeeded in establishing a very important position in the area.

It appears that he made one or two brief visits to the capital, probably to attend meetings of the Synod. But unlike many provincial Metropolitans, notably Euthymios of Neai Patrai, he was not absent from the diocese for long. Although he clearly missed the cultural excitement of the City and the intellectual conversation of his friends, he returned to Athens and refused to leave the region even after the Frankish conquest. Despite invitations to go to Nikaia, Michaèl remained in sight of the Acropolis, as if constantly ready to resume his duties. The period he spent in exile, both on the island of Kea and in the Prodromos monastery, was not a pleasant one, but he chose not to avoid it. His example seems to have persuaded other Orthodox clergy to remain in Greece, where they were liberated in due course from Latin rule by armies of the Despotate of

Epeiros. This victory did not console Michaèl for the loss of his see, but it undoubtedly strengthened the Church in Central Greece.

In addition to his ecclesiastical duties Michaèl took on aspects of civilian administration, particularly within the city of Athens, where he was the sole authority. Through his activity, he prevented Sgouros from capturing Athens and probably spared the Athenians considerable bloodshed. Within his limited powers, he exemplified the crucial importance of the Church in the twelfth century, and the reserves on which it could draw. At a time when political organisation was rapidly declining, the strength of the clergy was a great support to the Empire, but not one that could prevent its final collapse in 1204.

CHAPTER FOUR.

Economic and Social Organisation in Central Greece in the Twelfth Century.

1. Introduction.

Evidence for the economic and social aspects of provincial life in the Byzantine Empire during the twelfth century is very meagre. Little enough is known about economic activity and social formation at Constantinople, even less about the provinces. The two aspects are so closely inter-related that it would be impossible to treat them separately. In fact, in contrast to the capital, where intellectual and cultural skills might be patronised by the court, and where social mobility was always greater, the social structure of Central Greece can not be analysed without constant reference to economic considerations. Wealth and economic resources seem to decide social status absolutely.

During the twelfth century the reformed administration and economic organisation set up by Alexios Komnènos was put to the test by the extravagant foreign policy of his grandson Manuel. A long reign of ambitious wars, elaborate diplomacy and expensive court life over-stretched the resources of the Empire and revealed serious weaknesses. When central control over provincial administration and strict regulation of economic matters slackened, local authorities were quick to step in. But they replaced imperial paternalism by policies of self-interest; policies which generally benefited only those who could impose them. The decline of imperial authority in the provinces encouraged both abuses in the administration and the development of local movements for independence. This process of disintegration can be observed in most parts of the Empire and is particularly severe in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The inhabitants of Central Greece were used to the rapacity of state officials; on more than one occasion they rebelled against arbitrary and excessive taxation, but without success. Friction between officials and local people was exacerbated by the fact that anyone from the capital usually despised provincial life. To be appointed to Central Greece was considered as a sort of exile, although officials usually managed to amass small fortunes from each appointment. They often preferred to send a deputy to direct provincial administration. Staying in Constantinople, they benefited from the central administration's policy of draining the provinces of natural wealth and resources in order to keep the capital, and especially the court, supplied with every delicacy. Imperial policy combined with absenteeism among officials reduced the provincial population to poverty, keeping their standard of living extremely low.

In this situation a popular local movement for independence could have rallied all the forces of the provinces to fight against Constantinople's representatives. But there was little support for those who initiated such movements. The leaders were usually local landlords who failed totally to distinguish themselves from state officials. By terrorising, looting and murdering the ordinary inhabitants, they became identified as typical administrators, and set up exactly the same conflict.

These local independence movements and the friction they generated reveal undocumented divisions within provincial society. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to discover the social origins of the leaders and their position in the social hierarchy of the provinces. This unofficial hierarchy was headed by families characterised simply as "powerful", dynatoi, who often held important positions in the imperial bureaucracy

and army, or in the Church. Such people belonged to the Byzantine aristocracy and the court, rather than to provincial life. Below them, lesser families whose power lay chiefly in the provinces, tried to gain positions at court and rise into the aristocracy. There was an important status attached to provincial administration, both civil and ecclesiastic, which such families hoped to attain. But heads of provincial government, the governor and the metropolitan, were nominated by Constantinople, and were often held by the powerful. In the lower ranks, however, local people might find employment.

The chief problem in discussing provincial society in the twelfth century is the position of the leaders of independence movements in relation to the older established leaders of society, major landowners, churchmen and administrators. In the economic life of the province the primary difficulty is to discover the role of foreign merchants in the revival of trade and commerce which took place in the twelfth century. These two problems pose a more general one: the relationship of rural, agricultural life to the commercial and industrial activity of the cities. As this is the most significant division in the organisation of the province, the following chapter will be divided accordingly. Then in a conclusion the economic and social structure will be treated as a whole.

2. Rural Organisation.

Sources of Wealth.

In an Empire which ran most industry as a state monopoly and kept a tight control over commercial transactions, rural and agricultural wealth was the most significant source of personal revenue. From the third century most Roman Emperors realized the great potential of taxation on land and made efforts to implement Diocletian's reforms. These reforms attempted to provide the means of calculating the basic taxes on land and labour force, on which all other services, financial contributions and duties depended. As these services included the provision of supplies for the army and major urban centres, they were crucial to the well-being of the Empire. In addition to the establishment of units of calculation, measures were introduced to ensure that land was kept under cultivation. Taken altogether these reforms are very clear evidence of the importance of the countryside in the Roman economy. [1]

Although Central Greece changed radically in the centuries which passed between the time of Diocletian and the Fourth Crusade, it remained basically the same in this respect: the importance of agriculture in its economy. Land continued to be the primary source of wealth for its owner and of revenue for the Emperor. Despite the development of the export trade and the growth of cities, urban resources never competed with those of the countryside. Industry was limited, state-controlled and realized little revenue. So it is not surprising that imperial tax officials constantly reviewed rural tax returns, and that people with money to

1. A. Déléage, La capitation du Bas-Empire, Macon 1945; H. Monnier, L'épibolé, Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger, XVI, 1892, 125-164, 330-352, 497-542, 637-72; XVIII, 1894, 433-86; XIX, 1895, 59-103.

invest usually looked for land to buy. [1]

This does not mean that land was the only source of wealth in the twelfth century. But nearly all the "aristocrats" of Byzantine society owned estates in the provinces of the Empire and had additional revenue from imperial appointments and state pensions. Their estates were not always family property which had been held for generations; they might well have been acquired as gifts and rewards for loyal support of the imperial family. Similarly, a rich landowner who had inherited his estates from his father and grandfather might find himself dispossessed by the Emperor if he opposed an imperial decision. This illustrates a crucial point about Byzantine land-tenure: that it was all dependent on the Emperor, who owned the entire Empire, at least in theory. Alienation and confiscation of estates were imperial acts, and those who received grants in land from one Emperor were usually anxious to have them confirmed by his successor. [2]

Public service in the imperial administration was a very remunerative employment, particularly in the military section during the tenth century, and in the civilian during the eleventh. Competition for posts was such that it was useful to offer both aptitude and money, rather than just skill at the job. By the twelfth century this had developed into a situation where positions were awarded to the highest bidder. [3] Investment in an administrative post had become a sure way of making money. A further

1. G. Ostrogorsky, Le grand domain dans l'Empire byzantin, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, IV, Le Domain, Wetteren, 1949, 35-50.
2. The children of Leôn Kephalas, for example, petitioned Alexios I to confirm Nikèphoros III's and Alexios' previous grants, Actes de Lavra, no. 49 (1089). One of the richest families in Kappodokia, Maleinos, was suddenly deprived of its estates by Basil II, see Zepos, Jus GR, I, 264, note 4.
3. N. Ch. 584; R. Guilland, Vénalité et favoritisme à Byzance, REB X, 1952, 35-46.

source of income was a state pension, roga. These were associated with certain positions in the administrative hierarchy; a bestarchès would receive a roga of fourteen pounds of gold, for example; but they could also be awarded as a form of reward or gift, and to institutions as well as individuals.[1] Clearly an office with an annuity attached, especially an honorific post, was a useful sinecure, and one for which people were prepared to pay.[2]

It was far more common for someone to become rich through these means than through specifically economic activity - commerce, banking, transport and overseas trade. This was partly due to stringent regulation of buying and selling; partly due to the dangers of sea transport and the expense involved in insuring goods, and also due to state control of industry.[3] The last factor effectively prevented investment in new industries or the expansion of existing factories, unless under governmental orders. As the transport of basic necessities from the provinces to the capital and other cities was provided by coastal dwellers as part of their

1. P. Lemerle, Rogai et rents d'état, REB XXV, 1967, 77-100; rogai as rewards for military service were distributed to Basil II's army in 1018, see Kedrènos, II, 468, cf. Kekaumenos, 73, 97. The monasteries of Osios Meletios, Attika, and S. John the Theologian, Patmos, both benefited from money gifts made each year from the akrostichon of Attika and Crete respectively, see Life of Osios Meletios 49; MM VI, 117-9.
2. P. Lemerle, op. cit. 79-80 on the enormous profits to be made from the sale of honorific positions, axiômata.
3. On the regulations governing commercial activity, see the Eparchikon biblion, and Rhodian Sea Law, edited by W. Ashburner, Oxford, 1909; C. Macri, L'Economie Urbaine dans Byzance, Paris, 1925, especially 46-7, 50; W. Heyd, Histoire de Commerce du Levant, Leipzig, 1885, I, 55-6; S. Runciman, The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign, Cambridge, 1929, Appendix III, 252-3; E. Frances, L'Empereur Nicéphore I et le commerce maritime, BS XXVII, 1966, 41-7.

tax duties, transport was in effect another state monopoly. [1] Heavy taxation on all commercial enterprises made trade not very profitable, unless a merchant could establish outlets abroad. Some did, but many others must have been forced out of foreign markets by enterprising Arab and Italian traders. In the twelfth century the latter had clearly captured much of the East/West Mediterranean trade, and Greek merchants could no longer compete with them. [2] Banking and the provision of loans and mortgages remained a lucrative opening, but one for which a certain amount of capital was required. [3] Naturally, this tended to restrict the activity to people who had accumulated wealth from lands, public office and pensions.

The lack of openings into mercantile activity illustrates another basic point about Byzantine society - it had no middle class comparable with the Islamic bourgeoisie. There were urban dwellers of "middle" status, somewhere between the powerful and the poor, but they did not constitute an economic class. In rural areas the "middle" status is even more difficult to define, because there was simply a gradation of wealth and of status, polarised at the two extremes. [4]

1. G. Bratianu, Etudes sur l'approvisionnement de Constantinople et le monopole de blé, Etudes Byzantines, Paris, 1939, 129-54; J. Teall, The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330-1025, DOP XIII, 1959, 89-139.
2. S. Goitein, A Mediterranean Society, I, Economic Foundations, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, 42-59, indicates the predominance of Arab and Jewish over Greek merchants.
3. E. Frances, op. cit. 42-4.
4. S. Goitein, The Rise of the Middle Eastern Bourgeoisie in Early Medieval Times, Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, Leiden, 1968, 217-41; N. Svoronos, Société et organisation intérieure dans l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle: les principaux problèmes, Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966, 380-2.

Land Tenure.

For all these reasons it is impossible to analyse the social and economic formation of rural Central Greece without reference to the pattern of land tenure. Unfortunately there is little direct evidence, but from the fragmentary tax register of Thebes, chance references in eleventh and twelfth century sources and the Partitio Regni Graeci, drawn up by the Crusaders, Venetians and pilgrims of the fourth crusade, the pattern can be reconstructed. [1]

These sources do not explain why certain families of Central Greece became famous and rich. But in general the dynatoi were powerful chiefly because they controlled land, which they could lease out to farmers for rents in kind and cash. [2] Members of the Xèros family formed part of this 'indigenous nobility' in Lakedaimonia and in Central Greece in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Subsequently numerous Xèroi occupied civilian and ecclesiastical positions throughout the Empire. [3] From this it appears that the family may have had estates in the region. From such a base members could go to the capital and build up contacts with the court. Other similar families include the Choirosphaktai,

1. N. Svoronos, Cadastre de Thèbes, text 11-19; Partitio Regni Graeci, TT I, 464-488.
2. A clear example of the power of the landowner is given in Basil II's Novel of 996, which describes how a peasant called Philokalès bought up all the plots of land in his village and turned it into his personal estate, idion proasteion, Zepos, Jus GR, I, 265. In the same Novel the Phôkas and Maleinos families are signalled as dynatoi, ibid. 264, note 24.
3. On the Xèros family, see N. Bees, Zur Sigillographie der byzantinischen Themen Peloponnes und Hellas, VV, XXI, 1914, 194-7; Life of Osios Meletios, 59-60; NE VIII, 1911, 186-7; Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè, V, 279, 282; MM IV, 324; Alexiade, III, 70. The family provided a Metropolitan of Athens in the twelfth century, Leôn (died Jan. 1163), see J. Darrouzès, REB XX, 1962, 190-6.

Kamatèroi and Katakalôn.[1] In a slightly different position were the more recently installed representatives of the powerful from Eastern Asia Minor who gradually moved into the European half of the Empire. The Tornikai who settled round Thebes were typical of these families, already intermarried with other great landowners; the Kantakouzènoi and Branades moved to Peloponnesos.[2] These newcomers were probably less concerned with local affairs than the others; they may have spent most of the time in Constantinople.

Many estates in Central Greece were alienated by Emperors to ecclesiastical foundations or to members of their own families, for example, Irene, daughter of Alexios III Angelos, who owned several estates around the Gulf of Volos.[3] The monks of the Sagmatas monastery in Boiotia even forged an imperial chrysobull, to support the claim that their foundation dated from the reign of Alexios I, and so they subsequently benefited from imperial assistance.[4] But the dynatoi were responsible for the foundation and subsequent prosperity of many monasteries. In the same way as Eugeneios, a rich man from Lamia, constructed a large and beautifully decorated basilika probably on his own land in Lokris, twelfth century landowners founded monasteries and built churches, again on their own estates.[5] The Church became one of the most important

1. On the Choirospaktai, see Bees, op. cit. 224-6; NE III, 1906, 195; Life of Osios Meletios, 34; VV IV, 1897, 384-5; MM VI, 45, 49; Alexiade, I, 133. On the Kamatèroi, Bees, op. cit. 217-9; Darrouzès, Tornikai, 43-9; Life of Osios Meletios, 53; V. Laurent, B VI, 1931, 253-72, (this article has been substantially corrected by Darrouzès, Tornikai.) On the Katakalôn, NE XIII, 1916, 374; PG 127, col. 973; D. Zakythinos, Meletai, II, 43-4.
2. Darrouzès, Tornikai, 36; TT I, 470; D.M. Nicol, The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460, Dumbarton Oaks Studies no. 11, 1968, 13.
3. TT I, 470.
4. MM V, 253; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1228.
5. A. Orlandos, Une basilique paléochrétienne en Locride, BZ III, 1894, 207-228; G. Ladas, O Syllektès, II, 1952-8, 20-63, cf. Darrouzès, Tornikai, 48-9.

landowners in the area when all these foundations were entrusted to the ecclesiastical administration. After many centuries the Metropolitan see of Athens had accumulated extensive estates, not only around Athens, but as far away as Phokis and Northern Euboia. [1]

The significance of these estates can be gauged by the number of officials employed to look after them. As the most important landowner, the Emperor needed an army of inspectors and maintenance men, but almost every dynatos had such an official, for example, Isaakios Komnènos paid his pronoètès tôn ktèmatôn to ensure that no other landowner or tax-collector trespassed on to his estates. [2] Similarly clerical officials were employed by all important metropolitan sees and bishoprics. Athens had a sakellarios responsible for the financial management of numerous monasteries under the Metropolitan's control. [3] Their job was to prevent any funds or produce from going into the wrong pockets. The complicated litigation which resulted whenever this happened reveals that landowners were aware of the economic wealth of their possessions.

Below the dynatoi of the province one can discern a whole section of lesser landowners, who aspired to court and imperial appointments, but who were not at home in the society of the capital. The Rendakios and Tessarakontapèchys families had in fact been related to imperial dynasties in the ninth and tenth centuries, but they failed to maintain good relations with the Komnènoi. [4] During the twelfth century their members appear to have held rather minor posts in the provincial administration. Their

1. M. Ch. II, 119, 138, 591-2.
2. MM VI, 4 (Matzoukès, megalos oikonomos tôn euagôn oikôn); Actes de Lavra, no. 51. Actes de Xéropotamou, no. 7.
3. M. Ch. II, 30-4.
4. Kedrènos, II, 297-8; De Them. 91; Theophanès continued, 399; G. Ladas, Byzantinai epi tou "Thèsiou" epigraphiai, O Syllektès, I, 1949, 65-6. On the Tessarakontapèchys, see Theophanès, 474; Genèsios, 48.

influence in Central Greece, however, must have been strong for they had been installed in the area for centuries. [1] Others in a similar position include the Pardos, Pothos and Chalkoutzès families. [2]

It is not surprising that some of the leaders of regional movements should have come from among these families. They had to defend their interests against the rapacity of state officials, against the better-connected dynatoi and against the threat of external invasion. [3] In such a tight situation they might support a provincial revolt.

1. The Rendakioi were firmly established in the area recorded in the cadaster of Thebes, see Svoronos, op. cit. 13, 14, 18, 19. One member, Elenè, lived in Athens, ibid. 14. The Tessarakontapèchai are not recorded in the cadaster, but one was praktôr in Central Greece M. Ch. I, 146; II, 457. The village of Sarantapècho near Corinth probably reflects the family's possessions in the area, see Bees, op. cit. 199-200. One Geôrgios Tessarakontapèchys was a friend and correspondent of Michaèl, see M. Ch. II, 16, 17, 23, 43. He may well have lived in the capital, where the presence of Kônstantinos Tessarakontapèchys, kritès tou bèlou, is recorded in 1196, Actes de Lavra, nos. 67 and 68.
2. On the Pardos family see Cadastre de Thèbes, 11, 18. The family is chiefly recorded in military activity, Theophanès continued, 361, 363; Kedrènos, II, 548; but in the twelfth century Grègorios Pardos was Metropolitan of Corinth, see A. Kominès, Grègorios Pardos, mètropolitès Korinthou, Rome/Athens, 1960.

   On the Pothos family, see Cadastre de Thèbes, 13, 14, 18; Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, IV, no. 9380; Life of Osios Loukas, 48, 162. Numerous Pothoi are recorded on seals but it is impossible to connect them with activity in Central Greece.

   The Chalkoutzès family was particularly connected with Euripos in Euboia, where a twelfth century member was described by the Metropolitan of Athens as thematikos kai ktèmatikos archôn, M. Ch. II, 277, 278, 280. Bees, op. cit. 206-7, recorded the village of Chalkoutzè, near Ôropos, which might identify the part of the island where the family held land. Several members are known to have occupied junior positions in the imperial administration, see MM VI, 54, 55, 50; Sigillographie, 353, 635.
3. M. Ch. II, 277, 278, 280. In these three letters the Metropolitan reports that Chalkoutzès led the resistance to the crusading forces.

The position of rural inhabitants who could not make any pretension to a grand family is badly documented. The fragmentary cadaster of Thebes indicates that in the last quarter of the eleventh century they lived in villages and farmed the surrounding land in strip cultivation. Between the inhabitants of each village group, one can distinguish some who were obviously better off than others; some families controlled large numbers of strips, which they rented out to the others. Among these there are some familiar names, Pothos and Rendakios, and many lesser known, such as Leobachos, Anytès, Gerontas and Garasdès. Their members owned property in Thebes, Athens and Euripos; frequently they did not live in the village, and they held titles and positions in provincial government.[1] The importance of this document is that it clarifies the actual economic base of these families. It reveals that through land ownership and rents they were able to move into the towns, where they built houses and got jobs in local administration.[2] But employment of this sort was a secondary means of support - rents from land was basic.

Among those families who still lived in the villages there was again quite a variety of resources. Some owned land, which they had inherited, some rented land, and some were too poor to have any land. They must have worked for the others. The cadaster is a fiscal document drawn up to record the taxes due on every strip of land in a group of villages. But in addition it indicates the present and past owners of the strips over three generations, corresponding to a century of cadastral surveys.[3]

1. Cadastre de Thèbes, 36, 53, 71, 73-5. Samouèl Gerontas, drouggarios lived in Thebes; Pothos, a monk, in Euripos, and Elenè Rendakès in Athens, ibid. 11, 14.
2. R.J.H. Jenkins, Social Life in the Byzantine Empire, CMH IV, ii, 1967, 93-8; G. Rouillard, La Vie rurale dans l'Empire Byzantin, Paris 1953, 83-140.
3. → 52, an analysis of two stichoi, B72-84 of the text. Cadastre de Thèbes,

Land changed hands quite regularly, so it was necessary to revise the cadasters every twenty five years.[1] The ability of the land holder to pay tax was assessed in relation to all his property and his family. If he had inadequate resources or was in some way incapacitated he would be allowed some exemption, which would be recorded.[2] Seven of the 45 stichoi in the surviving cadaster have total exemption from taxes; nine others get partial relief. Only one tax payer is characterised as poor, ptôchos; he probably paid no taxes but was nonetheless recorded as an impoverished landholder.[3]

The contrast between rich and poor, powerful and weak, was observed by twelfth century writers.[4] It had been developing for many years, and all attempts to check it had failed. As the differences of wealth were based on the distribution of land, it will be useful to trace the changes which took place from the ninth century onwards.

Village Settlement.

Central Greece had never supported "latifundia", the enormous estates found in Italy and Africa, mainly because the territory was unfavourable for large-scale farming. Mountainous, wooded country can be cleared and terraced, with great effort and adequate labour force, but cultivation is limited. This was particularly true during the period of Slavonic infiltration, when the Greek population fled abroad or to the inaccessible areas. The whole pattern of settlement in Central Greede was disrupted; the ties between slave and master were completely severed;

1. Ibid. 63-7, 72.
2. Ibid. 120-2.
3. Ibid. 142.
4. M. Ch. II, 48, 54, the penètes and dynamenoi; EM I, 49, the ptôchoi, labouring men who do not hold high office.

towns disappeared for ever and new centres were built.[1] As a result new agricultural communities were established. By the time the Byzantines resumed control over Greece, small villages and strip cultivation had replaced rural villas and estates. These changes were incorporated into provincial government based on the cadaster and military catalogue.[2]

The life of the village, chôrion, is recorded in a document of the late seventh or early eighth century, which is known as the 'Farmers' Law.'[3] It presents a rather idealised picture of collective farming and mutual assistance, but it also reveals the mechanism which established such communities throughout the Empire. Each chôrion was responsible to the Treasury for its land tax; the members took collective action to keep land under cultivation and to pay the taxes due. Although they owned individual strips of land, stichoi, they all shared communal grazing land and various facilities, such as watermills, ovens and presses. Stringent regulations covered any situation which might cause friction between members, such as the straying of flocks, theft of grain or killing of a sheep dog. Therefore the chôrion was a largely self-governing and self-sufficient body.

1. P. Lemerle, Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans, RH CCXI, 1954, 265-308; see also page 219-21.
2. Chronique de Monemvasie, 10-11, illustrates the establishment of choria; cf. a similar development in the Asian provinces, H. Ahrweiler, Les invasions arabes dans l'Asie Mineure, RH CCXXVII, 1962, 1-32.
3. Nomos Georgikos, edited by W. Ashburner, JHS XXX, 1910, 85-108; XXXII, 1912, 68-95. On the date of the law, see G. Vernadsky, Sur l'origine de la Loi agraire, B II, 1925, 169-80; F. Dolger, Ist der Nomos Georgikos ein Gesetz des Kaisers Justinian II ? Münchener Beiträge zu Papyrusforschung und antichen Rechtsgeschichte, XXXV, 1945, 18-48. On its significance, N. Constantinescu, Réforme sociale ou réforme fiscale? Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Romaine, XI, 1924, 94-109; G. Ostrogorsky, Das Steuersystem im byzantinischen Altertum und Mittelalter, B VI, 1931, 229-40.

The 'Farmers' Law' is ubiquitous and universal; it is not identified with one particular area; and it does not mention any other form of agricultural settlement. It represents the result of processes taking place during the seventh century in many parts of the Empire, not only in Greece. In the insecurity resulting from persistant Arab raiding, more collective and smaller forms of agricultural settlement were a natural development. [1] The break-down of Justinianic administration permitted the growth of chôria, which were later assimilated into themata institutions. [2] Another indication of the development of the chôrion is the extent to which this form of settlement was used to incorporate foreigners, prisoners of war and mercenaries within the Empire. Because it combined two essential functions, cultivation and self-government, it was a suitable vehicle for settlements in devastated, abandoned or frontier areas. [3] These were not always successful, but they were used until a more efficient form of military settlement was devised. [4] So the 'Farmers' Law' reflects a general development.

Its concern with the chôrion, however, does not mean that no other forms of land tenure existed. Ecclesiastical and imperial estates certainly continued to exist through the seventh and eighth centuries.

1. Ahrweiler, op. cit. 1-32.
2. P. Lemerle, Quelques remarques sur le règne d'Héraclius, Studi medievali, third series, I, 1960, 347-61, illustrates the seventh century insecurity, which has been characterised as "la crise de l'Empire".
3. Theophanès, 363-4; Chronique de Monemvasie, 10; P. Charanis, Transference of population as a policy in the Byzantine Empire, Comparative Studies in Society and History, III, 1961, 140-54; S. Vryonis, S. Ioannicius the Great (754-846) and the "Slavs" of Bithynia, B XXXI, 1961, 245-8.
4. The chôria settlements on the Bulgarian frontier failed to protect Byzantine territory, but the institution of the kleisoura proved more successful, Theophanès, 495-6, 499-50; Ahrweiler, Administration, 81-2.

Individuals sometimes possessed extensive lands, for example, the family of S. Theodôros of Stoudion.[1] Slaves and unfree peasants still cultivated the fields of absentee landlords, but they had greater opportunity for escaping to a chôrion.[2] Without close supervision and good management, many old estates broke down into smaller units, and the previous social ties collapsed.

Although no statistical evidence exists for the proportion of chôria to large estates in Greece, the widespread establishment of villages is most likely. It seems highly improbable that any of the sixth century landowners could have protected their property through two centuries of intensive population movement. Those who fled abroad and to the capital may have returned when Byzantine control was re-established; Nikèphoros I ordered natives of Patras to come back from Sicily and Southern Italy.[3] But there is no evidence that they could have reclaimed their land. It seems more likely that they would have entered the Church or the administration. Leôn, prôtospatharios and founder of the church of the Dormition at Skripou, was probably one of those who chose a military career and obtained lands around Lake Kopais as a reward. It is clear that the revenue from his possessions enabled him to build this church. Unfortunately there is no indication of how long he had owned estates in the area.[4]

1. The Homily written by S. Theodôros on the death of his mother reveals that the family was well-off, and when all its members were persuaded to enter the church considerable wealth was distributed among their servants and poor people, PG 99, col. 883-902, especially 888-892.
2. Theophanes continued, 227-8, 320-1.
3. Chronique de Monemvasie, 10.
4. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, IV, no. 8685; M. Sôteriou, Archaiologikè Ephèmeris, 1931, 156.

Imperial Land Grants.

As landownership was the basis of economic wealth and social position in the provinces, imperial grants of land were the highest form of reward for public service. Thema troops were paid partly in land set aside as stratiôtikè gè and distinguished from village stichoi. It was clearly vital for the Emperor to know what land was available in every area, and so provincial cadasters assumed even greater significance.[1] State officials often aided by imperial inspectors made special land surveys which frequently interfered with the established autonomy of chôria.[2] As a result provincial land tenure was brought under the direct supervision of administrators in the capital. This increased centralisation is recorded in a document called the Fiscal Treaty which dates from the first quarter of the tenth century.[3] It reveals that the prôtonotarios of the

1. See chapter III, section 2, page 91-4.
2. In their efforts to tax even the smallest parcels of land, the anagrapheis and epoptai were over-anxious to re-distribute uncultivated land, klasmatikè gè, to new tax payers, see above, section on civil administration. This was the process which removed land from village control; it is described in the Fiscal Treaty, see note 3 below.
3. The Fiscal Treaty was published by W. Ashburner, JHS XXXV, 1915, 76-84; re-edited with a critical commentary by F. Dölger, Beiträge zur Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10 und 11 Jahrhundert, Leipzig-Berlin, 1927; a German translation and critical commentary has been published by G. Ostrogorsky, Die Ländliche Steuergemeinde des Byzantinischen Reiches im X Jahrhundert, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XX, 1927. See also N. Constantinescu, La Communauté de village byzantine et ses rapports avec le petit "Traité" fiscal byzantin", Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Romaine, XIII, 1927, 160-74; and the articles of Monnier cited on page 195, note 1. On the date of the Treaty, see G. Ostrogorsky, Pour l'histoire del'immunité à Byzance, B XXVIII, 1958, 179.

thema was responsible to the bureau of the sakellè at Constantinople while the chartoularios tôn arklôn was a subordinate of the logothetès tou genikou. These two officials coordinated the work of land measurement and calculation of taxes done by provincial officials, the epoptai, anagraphè exisôtai and praktores. [1]

Events of 941-956 in the thema of Thessalonikè illustrate this process. Thômas Moirokouboulos, epoptès and anagrapheus, was ordered to sell 950 modii of uncultivated land, klasmatikè gè, which had probably been abandoned by peasants in the region following Arab raids. He disposed of this land at low prices to nineteen peasant families and imposed an annual tax of one nomisma on each family. Fifteen years later, it was decided in Constantinople that this tax was too low, and Iôannès, megas chartoularios tou genikou logothesiou, was sent to double it. This intervention had an unexpected result: all the land was given to the nearby monastery of Xeropotamou, which agreed to pay the new tax and to compensate the peasant families. [2]

These events not only indicate central control over provincial land distribution, they also reveal a tendency for land to be sold to the highest bidder, a tendency which eventually destroyed village communities. This was the process which divided provincial society into rich and poor, allowing the concomitant social divisions to develop.

The Fiscal Treaty is a manual of tax collection written for the officials responsible. It is therefore not concerned with the status of the landowner, but with his ability to pay the tax due. In the case of a chôrion, the important thing was the chôrion tax, not who paid it. The principle of

1. Finanzverwaltung, 19-24, 79; Steuergemeinde, 24f, 78.
2. Actes de Lavra, nos. 2 and 3; Actes de Xéropotamou, no. I; Lemerle, Esquisse, II, 74-5; G. Rouillard, B VIII, 1933, 107-116; G. Ostrogorsky, The Peasants' Pre-emption Right; an abortive reform of the Makedonian Emperors, JRS XXXVII, 1947, 117-126.

collective responsibility for the total chôrion tax had previously given the villagers exclusive rights to the land; when one family abandoned its stichoi, another would take over both the land and the proportion of tax due; these rights were restated in many imperial edicts, but under pressure from the powerful and the Treasury they were often overruled. When officials from Constantinople could re-allocate village stichoi to outsiders and even institutions, the chôrion was broken up and its existence weakened. It is not clear that the klasmatikè gè sold in 941 was village land, but this seems likely. In order to keep land under cultivation and to ensure higher tax returns, bureaucrats from the capital completely disregarded the autonomy of the village, and destroyed its collectivity and unity. [1]

Tenth century legislation governing both village and military lands reveals the main problem. Edict after edict stipulates that a military holding can not be legally assigned except to the immediate relatives of the stratiôtès, who have to guarantee military service on the terms set down in the catalogue. Anyone who has illegally acquired a stichos of military land within the past 30 years, must return it to the rightful owner and compensate him. [2] This legislation is written in the terminology of the tenth century: it states explicitly that the dynatoi are oppressing and expropriating the poor, penètes, and attempts to reverse this process. [3] Frequent repetition of these provisions indicates a failure to check the growth of powerful local landowners, who bought up land, both military and village, wherever they could.

1. The right of protimèsis restricted possession of chorion lands to village inhabitants and their relatives, Zepos, Jus GR, I, 198-204. but it was regularly over-ridden, see G. Ostrogorsky, op. cit. 120-2, 126. On one occasion, however, peasants managed to uphold their rights, see Actes de Lavra, no. 4 (952).
2. Lemerle, Esquisse, III, 43-54.
3. Zepos, Jus GR, I, 205-14; 214-7; 218-21; 222-6; 240-2.

Shortage of Labour.

An important reason for this failure to protect the poor was the increase in imperial grants of land. Emperors might piously wish to better the lot of the impoverished peasant, but what they offered with one hand, they removed with the other. Land was constantly made available to monasteries and ecclesiastical institutions, to generals and administrators, and to supporters of the imperial family. Inevitably some of this land came from village settlements. The accumulation of estates provoked another development which weakened the penètes yet further. This was the demand for labour. Monasteries and landlords who could now farm on a much larger scale, needed extra labourers to farm efficiently. They tried to attract peasants from chôria to come and work on their estates by offering protection from tax officials. They negotiated with the Emperor for total exemption from state taxes and independence from tax collectors. [1] Grants in land with the labour force attached replaced simple rewards in land, and peasants who had previously paid taxes as free men, were forced to accept the "protection" of a monastery or a dynatos. This was what happened to the 19 peasant families in 956. [2]

1. Actes de Lavra, no. 6 illustrates the monastic demand for labour and also the very real protection which a free monastery could offer from state officials. The act stipulates that Lavra may keep the 32 registered paroikoi, but must return to their original lands the state peasants, dèmosiarioi. The latter, therefore, were thwarted in their attempt to avoid state taxes.
2. Actes de Xéropotamou no. I. The growth of grants in land with a labour force attached gave rise to a rather different system, grants of pronoia. From the middle of the twelfth century, gifts of dependent peasants, dôrea paroikôn, were also made, another reflection of the need for labour, see chapter III, page 110.

Towards the end of the eleventh century Alexios Komnènos tried to minimise rewards in land by creating a new hierarchy of court titles, for which dynatoi had to pay. But he could not reverse the process initiated by giving rewards in land; in fact he was forced to support it. The limitations of an economy based primarily on land ownership were clear by 1081. At this date the cadaster of Thebes provides evidence of the survival of the village and its own form of cultivation. The chôria and independent peasantry are clearly still in existence, but the village landowners are by no means all peasants. The cadaster illustrates the concentration of stichoi in the hands of a few families, and the invasion of the village community by outsiders, including representatives of famous Southern Italian families. After the campaign of 1042 Byzantine possessions in Italy and Sicily were gradually abandoned to the Normans, and the Pardoi and Poletianoi were among the Italians who settled in Central Greece. In addition a number of Italian mercenaries were rewarded with land in the area, which suggests that whole Byzantine communities may have emigrated together. Their installation near Thebes was probably effected by imperial orders. [1]

The older landowners include some well-known families, the Pothoi and Rendakioi, who by judicious intermarriage and by public service had managed to accumulate lands. Others are not recorded as military or civilian leaders, but obviously they had established control over many stichoi in several villages, for example, several members of the Karmalikès family owned property in many different villages. [2] Most of these hold titles and administrative office as drouggarioi, prôtospatharioi, kometes, abydikoi and spatharokandidatoi. One Leobachos is basilikos kouratôr;

1. Cadastre de Thèbes, 69-71. Several Italoi are mentioned and one Geôrgios Maniakès, probably a relative of the famous general. Cf. A. Guillou, Inchiesta sulla populazione greca di Sicilia e Calabria, RSI LXXV, 1963, 53-68.
2. Cadastre de Thèbes, 75-6.

Kônstantinos Anytès holds the title of proedros, and Merkourios is basilikos kandidatos. [1] These landowners are not among the really powerful; but neither are they peasant proprietors. [2] They live in the nearby towns, Thebes, Athens and Euripos, and rent their lands to others. [3] While they draw revenue from land ownership, they contribute very little to the prosperity of the countryside. In this respect their activity mirrors that of the capital in relation to the provinces, activity which drained the outlying parts of the Empire of their natural resources.

Unfortunately the cadaster does not clarify the problem of who cultivated all the land in these villages. A few peasant proprietors are listed and people who rent land, but there must have been a considerable labour force to farm the rest. It has been suggested that as the cadaster is concerned only with the collection of taxes, it would not enumerate dependent peasants who no longer owned their land. So there might have been many families, like the 19 near Xeropotamou monastery, expropriated by sales of land, conducted by officials over their heads. Once a free

1. Ibid. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18.
2. G. Ostrogorsky, La commune rurale byzantine, B XXXII, 1962, 139-166, interprets the cadaster of Thebes differently from Svoronos. He claims that all the landowners are dynatoi, elements extraneous to the original village, and closer to a "feudal" aristocracy. The peasant cultivators have all been reduced to the status of paroikoi, and as they are no longer proprietors they are not recorded in the cadaster. It is clear that the chôrion has been invaded by outsiders, the newcomers from Italy are an obvious example, but I can find no evidence that these people took over the land and forced the original owners to become their paroikoi. This relationship is not recorded in the cadaster. The fact that so many of the stichoi benefit from some sympatheia, and the numerous examples of people renting rather than owning land seem to indicate a section of village population that was not so well-off, certainly not among the powerful.
3. There were strong contacts between the rural area recorded in the cadaster and the nearby towns. The Sisinios, Galatès, Karmalikès and Stratègios families are known from urban records in Thebes and Athens.

peasant family had lost the right to pay its taxes direct to the state official it obviously did not interest the state records. It became part of the property of the new landowner, to whom it now paid its taxes. This form of dependence, called paroikia, is recorded on the estates of many monasteries and individuals, and it may account for the labour force in the region of Thebes. [1] The evidence of twelfth century sources is no more specific; it merely confirms that the rural population was greatly impoverished. But in one respect it indicates that some of the poorest peasants were still nominally free; they suffered especially from the greed and extortion practised by state officials, for example from the arbitrary and often imposed epèreiai. This suggests that not all village inhabitants had been taken over by a dynatos, and were still responsible to state officials for their own taxes. [2]

Types of cultivation.

By the twelfth century, the pattern of land distribution accounted for extremes of wealth differentiation, and enforced social divisions between powerful and weak. Yet cultivation remained strangely uniform. [3] Large estates, proasteia, idiostata or episkepseis, were often divided into strips which were farmed by peasants in much the same way as their own stichoi. The praktika of individual landowners list numerous small holdings, each under the name of the dependent tenant farmer, with his

1. Cadastre de Thèbes, 142-3 ; Ostrogorsky, op. cit. 161-2.
2. M. Ch. I, 307, 310; II, 20, 63, 66, 96 and many other references.
3. N. Svoronos, Sur quelques formes de la vie rurale à Byzance. Petite et Grande Exploitation, Annales, Economies, Societes, Civilisations, XI, 1956, 325-335.

livestock and equipment. [1] So there appears to have been little distinction between farming methods on both village land and large estate. The same traditional implements and agricultural techniques were used to raise identical crops. This explains, in part, the increasing demand for labour, which is so evident in the twelfth century. As there had been no radical change in productive methods, every estate needed as many cultivators as it had strips. Land became worthless without the labour-force necessary to keep it under cultivation.

Even peasants whose livelihood did not depend on land ownership, such as the Vlach transhumant shepherds, felt the pressures of this labour shortage. At the beginning of the twelfth century, several hundred Vlach families settled on Athos territory with their flocks. For some time they provided dairy products to the monks, until the ecclesiastical hierarchy supported by Constantinople ordered their departure. That Vlach shepherds should have adopted the status of douloparoikoi, and that a monastery should have tried to settle whole families, regardless of the severe ban on females on Mount Athos, seems to indicate a desperate attempt to attract extra work force. The Vlachs could tolerate the loss of free status probably because the lands of Athonite monasteries were freed from the visits of state tax collectors. [2]

Although agricultural methods were generally uniform and still primitive, in some respects estate farming was different from strip cultivation. The accumulation of extensive lands included not only strips but also orchards, communal grazing land, thickets, wooded and marshy

1. The estates of Andronikos Doukas, megas domestikos, reveal the continuity in village life and strip cultivation, for example, the proasteion of Galaidai had twelve peasants living on it, 9 zeugaratoi and 3 aktèmones, and paid 27 nomismata, 2 miliaresia and 12 folleis tax, just like a separate village community, see MM V, 8-9. Despite the fact that he controlled several proasteia, many much larger than this one, Andronikos Doukas had not one estate, but a multitude of villages.
2. Meyer, Haupturkunden, 163.

areas. By clearance, drainage and irrigation, land could be prepared for planting on a large scale, usually impossible in village settlements. Vines and olives were particularly suitable for large-scale cultivation. But planting groves of olive trees and extensive vineyards demands a certain capital, and is only possible when other means of support are available. This was the greatest single advantage of estate owners over independent peasant farmers. As they did not rely completely on the basic subsistence harvest, they could afford to invest in crops which took years to mature. Subsequently they would have large quantities of grapes and olives to press and they would market wine and oil, two of the most basic products in the Byzantine Empire. [1]

They were nonetheless dependent on two other factors - adequate labour force, already mentioned, and distribution outlets for their produce. The organisation of markets will be discussed in the next section, but here it is necessary to note that transport of goods to market centres and re-distribution after sale were not efficiently arranged in Central Greece. This was partly due to the self-sufficiency of rural areas. Surplus produce was generally only needed in urban centres, especially in the capital, and therefore the market of Constantinople acted like a magnet, dragging products out of local circulation. [2] Few estate owners could cope with the additional expense of transporting goods from Central Greece to the capital - the monastery of Laura was exceptionally well equipped for this, having boats which were exempt from all maritime taxes, and Laura was clearly among the richest and most powerful of monasteries. Others had to rely on the marketing activity of Italian merchants who traded freely in all parts of the Empire except the Black Sea.

1. Actes de Lavra, nos. 67, 68, reveal the capacity of a great monastery to produce large quantities of wine for sale. See also the longer commentary on these two documents by P. Lemerle, Notes sur l'administration byzantine à la veille de la IVe croisade, REB XIV, 1961, 258-72.
2. M. Ch. II, 83.

Unfortunately no monastic records or estate praktika from Central Greece survive. This reduces discussion of economic organisation to hypothesis, and enforces reliance on entirely non-economic sources. Within these severe limitations, it is possible to construct the framework within which agricultural production occurred. In the surviving villages peasant proprietors and, increasingly, tenant farmers worked by strip cultivation and provided their basic subsistence. They paid taxes partly in kind, partly in coin, which was the result of rural industry - the preparation of wool, cotton, cheese, honey and natural dyes. [1] Marketable agricultural surplus was probably produced only by co-operative effort, which is not recorded, except on larger estates where one crop could be extensively cultivated.

This free peasantry was declining throughout the twelfth century. It bore the main burden of increased taxation, while great landowners and institutions were often exempt. [2] State officials were dreaded, not so much for the taxes which they collected, as for the services and duties which they could impose at will. Extraordinary taxes, epereiai, covered the board and lodging of officials, their transport round the province, and

1. See next section, page 223-7.
2. Not only was taxation increasing but during the eleventh century payments in produce had been commuted into money taxes, which were a harsher burden. For example, after the death of Basil II his policy towards the Bulgarian peasantry was reversed and taxes were commuted. This resulted in a revolt against imperial officials, Kedrènos, II, 484. It was exactly the same change which provoked the population of Nikopolis to revolt, for the second time in fifteen years, see Kedrènos, II, 482-3, 530.

gifts of food presented regularly, kaniskia. [1] The rapacity of provincial administrators is well documented, and it increased as centralised control over taxation declined.

In addition to such abuses, rural inhabitants suffered from the depredations of powerful landowners. According to Michaèl Chôniatès, the oligarchy of the rich oppressed lesser people. Those who lived in the citadel at Athens, that is on the Acropolis, probably very wealthy men, were causing great hardship and destruction in the countryside by buying up peasant properties. A measure of threats and bullying is hinted at, though never stated explicitly. [2] This tension, combined with natural hardships - drought, famine and the infertility of Attika - was forcing poorer people off the land. [3] They may have sought employment on estates or drifted into the towns; in either case their position as peasant proprietors was finished.

The landowners who had town houses and hired landless peasants to work for them were obviously better off. They could supplement their incomes through provincial positions. But they must have been effected by the shortage of labour and the competition of larger landowners. Even the latter were not entirely satisfied with the situation; they lacked the means to make real profits from agriculture because of transportation and distribution problems. So they used the services of foreign merchants

1. On the epèreiai, see page 278, note 2, and MM V, 111-3, on the illegal epèreiai levied by Pègonitès, praktôr of Samos. On the kaniskia, see the exemption formulas, for example, MM V, 143, dôsis kaniskiôn e antikaniskiôn. In an unpublished document from the monastery of Esphigmenou of August 1095, the contents of a kaniskion tou dioikètou are stipulated: one loaf of bread; one chicken; one modion of barley, and half a measure of wine. Judging from this list, one can appreciate that frequent visits of officials could become ruinous to the impoverished peasant. Michaèl Chôniatès does not mention kaniskia, but he uses the term proskynètikia to indicate a similar duty, M. Ch. I, 309; II, 106.
2. M. Ch. I, 174, 311; II, 99.
3. Ibid. II, 20, 24, 42, 53, 99.

resident in the market centres, and foreign sailors whose boats went from Central Greece to the capital and back again without financial difficulties. [1] Although a few Greek merchants and entrepreneurs must have benefited from this disorderly arrangement of provincial produce, Pisans, Venetians and Genoese were the chief beneficiaries. Their contacts gave them an international distribution network which no Byzantine could rival - a network built up over centuries by communities dedicated to commercial activity. This factor, and all that was associated with it, such as proper credit systems, shipping insurance, accounting and navigational skills, prevented the successful organisation of the agricultural economy of Central Greece.

3. Urban Organisation.

Old and new foundations.

The chief urban centres of Central Greece in the twelfth century were ancient foundations with a famous and well-known past history - Athens, Thebes, Larissa and Demetrias, among many others. But not all the ancient sites survived to the twelfth century. Many cities known from the early sixth century Synekdemos, compiled by Ieroklès, disappeared during later Slavonic and Bulgar incursions; others were moved to new sites in more secure, defensible positions. [2]

Later, as the population grew, new cities developed. The existence of these new centres is often recorded for the first time in ecclesiastical

1. Regular convoys, mudua, sailed from Corinth to Constantinople carrying the goods of Venetian merchants, Documenti, I, no. 69; Sayous, Documents Inédits, VIII.
2. Diokletianoupolis, Gomphoi, Pagai and Boumelita were among those cities which never reappeared. The classical site of Corinth was abandoned in favour of the citadel Acrocorinth; the site of Amphissa was similarly shifted to a stronger position on the hillside overlooking the valley.

records, for example, when its bishop attended a local synod or a church council.[1] The lists of episcopal sees in each diocese are also of great importance for the history of urban growth, for during the seventh and eighth centuries bishopric was synonymous with city. From the ninth century onwards the gradual increase in the number of sees in Central Greece reflects the spread of christianity among sizeable communities.[2] It also illustrates the role of the Church in keeping urban centres, however small, alive. In Greece, ecclesiastical men maintained the links between the province and the capital as much, or more than, military governors. They were a constant reminder to provincial people of the authority of the Emperor, God's representative on earth.[3]

From church records it is possible to build up a partial map of urban centres, but this must be supplemented by information from commercial transactions, which mention other centres. Not all the ancient sites which survived the period of invasions were later incorporated

1. By the Seventh Oecumenical Council (787) a new bishopric had been founded at Ὦreos in Northern Euboia, Mansi, XIII, 392. Nearly a century later at the Council of 879 the bishopric of Ezeros was recorded for the first time, Mansi, XVII, 376.
2. In 1954 A. P. Kazdan put forward the view that Byzantine cities declined from the seventh century onwards, see Vizantiiskie goroda v. VII-XI v, Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, XXI, 1954, 164-88; but this has been seriously criticised by G. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages, DOP XIII, 1959, 45-66; and by E. Kirsten, Die Byzantinische Stadt, Berichte zum 11ten Kongress der Byzantinischen Studien, Munich, 1958, 19-34. Recently S. Vryonis has added an important new dimension to the problem with his article An Attic Hoard of Byzantine Gold Coins (668-741) in the Thomas Whittmore Collection, and the Numismatic Evidence for the Urban History of Byzantium, ZRBI VIII, i, 1963, 291-300. See also E. Frances, La ville byzantine et la monnaie aux VIIe-XIIe siècles, BB II, 1966, 3-14, especially p. 4, which illustrates the artificial creation of episcopal sees in underpopulated areas.
3. The bishops of Euripos, Aigina, Andros, Skopelos, Zetouni, Pharsala, Demetrias and Ezeros attended the Council of 879 in Constantinople, representing eight small urban centres in Central Greece, see Mansi, XVII, 373-7.

into the episcopal hierarchy. Amphissa, Lebadia, Steiris and Aigosthena are known to have existed as urban centres in the twelfth century, although they never became bishoprics, and many smaller sites probably continued undisturbed. In addition, many of the new medieval foundations were never episcopal sees, for example; Almyros, the most important harbour on the Gulf of Volos, Galaxeidion, Ravennika and what Benjamin of Tudela called Jabustrisa. Despite the name this was a twelfth century Byzantine town, lying somewhere along the route from Euripos to Zetouni. [1] Almyros and Galaxeidion were both ports and important centres of trade, probably much more populous than some of the inland bishoprics like Zaratovon, Charmenon and Marmaritzana. [2] But ecclesiastical sites and large urban centres generally coincided.

There were forty-two Metropolitan and episcopal centres in the eparchy of Ellas in the twelfth century. The eparchy corresponded to the original administrative province, Ellas and Thessaly, and remained independent when the provinces of Ellas and Peloponnesos were united in the eleventh century. In the eparchy there were four dioceses sited in ancient cities: Athens, Larissa, Thebes and Neai Patrai (ancient Ypata). The see of Athens, which had been promoted to metropolitan rank early in the ninth century, held 28th position in the hierarchy of dioceses; Larissa ranked 34th; Neai Patrai, 50th and Thebes, 57th. The relative insignificance of Greek sees can be judged from the fact that of the most senior, Thessaloniki ranked 10th and Corinth 27th. The most important dioceses lay in Asia Minor, and ambitious clerics were advised to decline appointment even to the Metropolitan see of Corinth, in order to obtain a prestigious post in Asia. [4]

1. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10.
2. The siting of these inland bishoprics, suffragan sees of Thebes, Larissa and Neai Patrai respectively, is problematic. For possible identification see the map at the end of this chapter.
3. Parthey, Notitiae, no. 10 dated to the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century, 199, 216, 217, 222.
4. Ibid. 21, 215. Darrouzès, Tornikai, 15, 123-6.

Below the four Metropolitans came three autocephalous archbishoprics, positions of a Metropolitan see without suffragan bishops. These were Aigina, Naxos and Euripos; the two island sees would have been particularly suitable for this status. They were subject to the authority of the Patriarch rather than the local Metropolitan.[1] The position of bishops was much more rigorously controlled, although they had the right of appeal to the Patriarch in cases of unresolvable dispute. The thirty-five suffragan bishoprics in Central Greece were evenly divided between ancient and medieval foundations - sixteen and nineteen respectively. Among the new ones were many which it is now impossible to identify, Trichion, Kapoulianon and Bela, for example. But this is hardly surprising in view of the frequent changing of place-names, especially since the Greek war of independence. Larissa had sixteen suffragan bishoprics, a large number which probably reflected the old status of Thessaly as an independent eparchy.[2] It was united with the eparchy of Ellas when the new administrative province of Ellas was set up. Under Athens, there were eleven suffragan bishoprics; Neai Patrai, three, and Thebes, five. For many of these sites, their ecclesiastical status is the only indication of their existence.[3]

Towns in Central Greece were certainly not very big, but every urban conglomeration served as a market for the surrounding area.[4] Some

1. Parthey, Notitiae, no. 6 outlines the position of autocephalous archbishoprics, 147, which is reproduced in Gelzer, Notitiae, no. V, 588
2. Synekdemos, 16. Thessaly was a small administrative unit with only 17 cities in the early sixth century. Larissa remained its only Metropolitan see, although the suggestion that it had 28 suffragan sees in the eleventh century is wrong. Parthey, Notitiae, no. 3, 120-1 and 127 is the cause of this error. The suffragan sees of Larissa, Neai Patrai and Euchaita are totally confused, and the Metropolitan see of Thebes does not appear at all. For these reasons the Notitia no. 3 should not be used to prove the existence of new suffragan sees under Larissa.
3. For these bishoprics, see the list and map at the end of the chapter.
4. On the size of the urban population, see chapter II, page 80.

were also centres of industrial production and export trade. It will be simplest to deal separately with these three activities.

Markets.

Even the smallest villages must have provided a local market of exchange for the area around it. Barter was probably common among the poorer peasants. For sales and more important transactions, a regional fair would have provided greater opportunity. None could rival the October fair of S. Dèmètrios at Thessalonikè, which attracted merchants from all parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. [1] But there were probably important panègyria in Central Greece for the local Saints and holy men, such as Osios Loukas at Steiris and Agios Achileos at Larissa. Euthymios Malakès mentions the panegyri held at Athens in honour of the Virgin, presumably on August 15th, which brought a great crowd to the Parthenon. [2] In addition, a particular attraction of Central Greece would have been the annual Vlach fair. This probably took place in the mountainous region to the Northwest of Thessaly, an area disputed by Byzantines and Bulgars for many centuries, where the Vlachs had established their rights by regular transhumance. Their pattern of life did not change much from the eleventh to the early twentieth century. In 1910 Wace and Thompson attended the annual May fair at Grevena which was part of the Vlach tradition. Vlachs from all

1. An account of the fair at Thessalonikè is given in Timarion, edited by C. Hase, Notices et Extraits des manuscrits, IX, ii, 1813, 125-268; A. Ellissen, Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur, IV, Leipzig, 1860; and by H. F. Tozer, Byzantine Satire, JHS II, 1881, 233-70. Part of the text describing the fair is reproduced in N. G. Wilson, An Anthology of Byzantine Prose, Berlin-New York, 1971, 111-120.
2. Noctes Petropolitanae, 94.

parts of Greece attended this fair, especially famous for the sale of mules. [1]

Wherever a fair was held, entertainers of every variety as well as merchants would turn up. Although the profits from more local celebrations may not have been as great as from the Ephesos panègyri, a five-day event such as the Vlach fair would certainly account for a lot of trade. [2] They would provide a regular stimulus to the provincial economy, bringing luxury goods, fancy materials and rarer spices on to the market. Peasants would sell their cheese, honey and wool, even in small quantities, to pilgrims, foreign merchants and spectators. Obviously such fairs were most suitable means for the distribution of local agricultural produce and particular regional goods, for instance, at Thessalonikè silks from Corinth and Thebes were prominently displayed. [3] Larger quantities of oil, wine, dried fruits and other major Greek exports were probably market ed through centres in Central Greece.

The most important of these was undoubtedly Corinth, which, with its double harbour, had access to goods and markets at both ends of the Mediterranean. [4] The chief products sold in Corinth were oil, cloth and dried fruits. Even in the twelfth century currants from Corinth had a particular character, distinguished from Malaga or Smyrna currants; later in the nineteenth century the whole Greek economy was to be based on massive dried fruit exports. [5] The process of drying grapes took

1. A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, The Nomads of the Balkans, London, 1914, 21-33. A. Asher, an editor of The Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, London-Berlin, 1840-1, knew of the existence of an eight-day Vlach fair, but could not identify its site, II, 37.
2. Theophanès, 469-70. 100 pounds of gold, the takings from the fair, were given to the church of Agios Iôannès o Theologos by Constantine VI.
3. Tozer, op. cit. 243, 245.
4. N. Ch. 99-100.
5. N. Svoronos, Histoire de la Grèce moderne, Paris, 1964, 60.

place in large areas of Central Greece on both sides of the Isthmus. Produce from Argolis, Megara and the north coast of Peloponnesos was probably brought to Corinth for sale. The market in oil may have drawn on a similarly wide area. If the practices at Almyros applied generally, Greek producers brought their goods to the market ready for sale, that is, there was no large-scale pressing of olives or drying of fruit in the market centres.

The evidence concerning the market at Almyros was based on the first hand experience of Edrisi, an Arab traveller, who recorded that the Greeks came to Almyros to deposit their goods in warehouses. His further information that the town was quite large, populous and commercial is confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela and other Western writers.[1] It was the outlet for the inland market at Larissa, the most important trading centre in Thessaly. Euripos, strategically placed on the narrow bridge joining Euboia to mainland Greece, served a similar function for Thebes. The inland markets dealt chiefly in oil, wine and manufactured goods.

How these markets were run and by whom is not clear. One would expect to find the state officials responsible for levying taxes on commercial enterprises, the dekateia on sale and diabatikon on circulation of goods within the Empire.[2] Both were collected by kommerkiarioi during the eleventh century, but their position declined under the Komnènoi, and was perhaps replaced by archontes under the control of

1. Edrisi, II, 296; Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 11.
2. H. Antoniades-Bibicou, Les Douanes, 123; J. Danstrup, Indirect Taxation at Byzantium, Classica et Medievalia, VIII, i, 1946, 138-67.

the naval bureau at Constantinople. [1] Previously the existence of customs areas, usually based in an important local centre, could be established from the evidence of the seals used by kommerkiarioi. In the twelfth century there is no such clear indication, but this does not mean that customs duties were abolished. They were probably incorporated into the indirect taxation imposed on the transport of goods, dekateia tôn agôgimôn, which increased during the twelfth century. [2]

Besides Greek producers and government officials, the people who were always found in provincial markets were foreign merchants. Their presence was not confined to the most important ports, although they were very active in Corinth and Almyros; they turned up wherever exportable goods were offered for sale. [3] This factor left local centres undisturbed, for example Italians are rarely mentioned in Athens or Larissa. [4] Presumably the Greek entrepreneurs were responsible for the sale and distribution of local goods, some of which would have been sent to the coast for export. Unfortunately there is no positive evidence

1. Antoniades-Bibicou, op. cit. 172-4 ; only one kommerkiarios is recorded in the twelfth century, Theognostès, who was probably based at Corinth. Neither Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 181-2, nor Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin, 192, offer a date for this seal. The replacement of kommerkiarioi by other officials is a matter of conjecture: Kazdan suggests that the praktôr may have taken over this duty, VV XXV, 1965, 267-9; Ahrweiler documents the amalgamation of abydikos and archôn, whilst maintaining that the kommerkiarioi did not disappear, La Mer, 165, 270. There may have been local variations in the title of the official, but it seems unlikely that the post was no longer used. Indirect taxation on the circulation and sale of goods was too lucrative to be ignored.
2. The proliferation of taxes levied on all goods indicates an increase in this basic 10% tax. See Appendix, page 275-6.
3. The presence of Venetians in Corinth and Almyros is attested earlier than in inland centres, see Documenti, I, nos. 18 (1088) and 35 (1112). By 1136 a regular convoy, mudua, used to sail from Corinth to Constantinople, ibid. no. 69; Sayous, Documents Inédits, VIII.
4. E. Frances, L'état et les metiers à Byzance, BS XXIII, 1962, 231-49, especially p. 248.

of this activity; it is impossible to judge its effectiveness. But clearly if foreign control over large-scale commercial transactions was as strong as Italian documents suggest, the Greek businessman would have suffered from severe competition.

Industrial Production

Apart from the traditional manufacture of basic necessities, wax, wool, oil and wine, which has been characterised as rural industry, Central Greece had valuable centres of industrial production. Silk weaving was undoubtedly the most significant. It took place primarily at Thebes and Corinth.

The techniques of silk production were a closely guarded secret in the Byzantine Empire. Silk weaving was an imperial monopoly carried on in the imperial palace under strict security, and the wearing of silk was reserved to the Emperor and the most privileged classes. The association of this material, particularly dyed purple, with positions of authority was partly due to its expense, partly to the richness of its texture. It became a symbol of imperial power and was made up into the ceremonial costume worn by the Emperor and members of his family.[1] Later it was adopted by the ecclesiastical hierarchy and became the standard material for officials of the Church of Rome. Only a failure to obtain the correct purple dye after the fall of Constantinople accounts for the red of cardinals' capes and hats.[2]

The manufacture of silk was concentrated in Constantinople where imperial guilds, dèmosia sômata, produced the best quality materials, reserved for the imperial family, imperial gifts and the most important

1. R. S. Lopez, The Silk Industry in Byzantium, Spec. XX, 1945, 1-42; M. Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity, (Latomus Collection, pamphlet no. 116), Brussels, 1970.
2. Reinhold, op. cit. 71-2.

ceremonial occasions. Much of this was woven, dyed, made up and decorated in the palace itself. Asecond-class silk was produced by private guilds organised by the Prefect of the City.[1] The buying of raw silk and sale of the finished material was highly controlled, as Liutprand found when he tried to take home more than the permitted amount.[2] These regulations were drawn up during the reign of Justinian when the Byzantines acquired the secret of the silk worm. The Emperor set up mulberry farms to ensure sufficient supply of cocoons. As the mulberry is easily cultivated in Greece, special farms may have been set up around Trikkala and Larissa, but the major provincial centres for silk production in the sixth century were Antioch, Beirut, Tyre and Alexandria.[3] After the Arab conquest of these regions, Constantinople appears to have been the sole centre. Silk continued to be produced in parts of the Caliphate, by skilled Coptic and Persian weavers, but the Byzantine product was much sought after in Western Europe. For many centuries the silks of Constantinople commanded almost a monopoly. But by the eleventh century Arab manufacture in Spain and probably Sicily was also providing competition, though not for the highest quality silk.[4] The Norman raid of 1147 which removed many skilled weavers from Corinth and Thebes, reinforced but did not initiate silk production in Sicily.[5]

1. Eparchikon biblion, chapters VI, VII, VIII; Lopez, op. cit. 12-6.
2. Liutprand, Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana, MGH Scriptores, III. 212-4.
3. Evidence of the importance of the mulberry in Central Greece is provided by a document of 1163, see C. Astruc, Un document inédit de 1163 sur l'évêché Thessalien de Stagoi, BCH LXXXIII, 1959, 206-46. The bishopric owned 85 trees for which it had to pay a dôsis metaxès, a tax on silk cocoons, ibid. 214, 221, 242. The mulberry still grows naturally in profusion in Thessaly, Wace and Thompson, op. cit. 15; A. Philippson, Thessalien und Epirus, Berlin, 1897, 147. On sixth century production of silk, see Reinhold, op. cit. 69; Frances, op. cit. 232-3.
4. S. Goitein, A Mediterranean Society, I, Economic Foundations, 222-4.
5. N. Ch. 99-101; Kinnamos, 91-2.

From accounts of this raid, it is clear that Central Greece was an important centre of silk production in the twelfth century. But there is little evidence of the organisation of the industry. Abundant local supplies of mulberry would have facilitated the establishment of silk factories, but when they started production is unknown. Given the extremely strict supervision at Constantinople, it is unlikely that provincial factories could have been set up on local initiative; some state control was probably exercised through the archôn tou Blatteiou kommerkiou, head of the silk workshop in the capital.[1] The weavers in Corinth and Thebes were certainly organised by officials from Constantinople. When they were attacked, however, they had to organise their own defence. This probably reflects both the failure of provincial troops and of the absence of a local dynatos behind the industry. Against the Bulgars, the people of Thebes were successful, but the superior military power of the Normans reduced them to captivity.[2]

The events of 1147, however, did not destroy the silk industry in Greece. When Benjamin of Tudela visited Thebes he found among the 2,000 Jews some of the most skilful weavers of silk. He remarked that the inhabitants of Thebes wore the finest silk garments decorated with

1. Despite the attention paid to the Eparchikon biblion, the organisation of Byzantine industries is still unclear. The critical assessment of A. Andréadès, Byzance, paradis du monopole et du privilège, B IX, 1934, 171-81, especially p. 178-80, remains fundamental. See also, E. Frances, op. cit. 237-8; S. Runciman, Byzantine Trade and Industry, Cambridge Economic History, Cambridge, 1952, II, 96, 104, 106. On the archôn tou blatteiou kommerkiou, see Laurent, La Collection Orghidan, no. 254; G. Millet, Les sceaux des commerciaires byzantins, Mélanges G. Schlumberger, Paris, 1924, II, 303-27. On silk production in Central Greece, see E. Weigand, Die helladischebyzantinischen Seidenweberein, Eis Mnèmèn Sp. Lamprou, Athens, 1935, 503-14.
2. Kedrènos, II, 529; N. Ch. 99-101, 129-30.

pearls and gold embroidery. The silk cocoons were provided locally and went through all stages of production in Thebes. The dyeing and finishing of silk was a particular skill associated with the Jewish population. [1] By the end of the twelfth century, Thebes was producing silks to rival those of Constantinople: both the Genoese ambassador and the Emir of Ankara insisted on Theban products. [2] They were also in demand at the fair of Saint Dèmètrios at Thessalonikè. [3] As the industry was clearly flourishing and very profitable, it was almost certainly under some form of state control, for silk production had always been an imperial monopoly, one of the most lucrative. It seems nonetheless to have brought some wealth to the locality.

Corinth never had the same reputation as Thebes as a centre of silk production, but it was important for silk and other textiles. It is possible that silk cloth was only dyed and finished there, but this alone constituted a specialised skill, appreciated by the Normans. [4] There was no weaving of silk at Athens while Michaèl Chôniatès was Metropolitan, and probably never had been. Athens was not a commercial centre. Even if the picture painted by Michaèl is exaggerated the city obviously could not compete economically with Thebes or Corinth. [5] So it seems unlikely that Athens was captured by the Normans. [6] For additional silk workers, the Sicilian ships should have gone to the islands of Andros and Euboia. Westerners

1. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10; J. Starr, The Epitaph of a Dyer in Corinth, BNJ XII, 1936, 42-9.
2. N. Ch. 608-9; Codice diplomata genovese, II, 115.
3. Tozer, op. cit. 243, 245.
4. Ibid. 99-101; Annales Cavenses, MGH SS, III, 1939, 192; M. Ch. II, 83.
5. M. Ch. II, 98.
6. Otto of Freising, Gesta Frederici Imperatoris in MGH SS, XX, 1868, 370, is the only source to claim that Athens was also captured. The problem is discussed by A. Bon, op. cit. 82, note 1.

were looking for xamita and zendata from Andros as early as 1132.[1] Silk manufacture on Euboia may have developed later, perhaps after the raid of 1147 on Thebes, as its existence is not recorded until the first years of the Frankish occupation. But it can hardly have been introduced by the Italian crusaders who settled on the island, and probably antedates the conquest.[2]

Production of textiles flourished in many parts of Central Greece. Cotton and linen were woven from local supplies, supplemented by raw cotton from Egypt and the East Mediterranean. Corinth and Almyros were the ports through which these materials were market ed, so they were probably made close by.[3] There is no evidence of large-scale production of woollen cloth, blankets or carpets; Michael noted that in Athens one could only acquire the roughest wool cloth.[4]

Another related industry was the production of dyes. Peloponnesos was particularly famed for its dyes, especially the purple obtained from small fish (murex). Purple-fishers were among those exempt from military service in the tenth century; their trade was essential for the production of imperial purple silk, and must have continued until the twelfth century at least.[5] Because the extraction of the dye was a laborious procedure, many cheaper and easier dyes were used. Kermes (grana) was a common substitute for the murex purple, but it

1. Saewulf, Relatio de peregratione ad Jierosolymam, edited by M. d'Avezac, Recueil de voyages et de memoires, IV, Paris, 1839, 32; also edited by C. Brownlow, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society no. 21 London, 1892, 2-3; W. Wattenberg, Archiv fur Kunde Osterreichischer GeschichtsQuellen, XIV, 1855, 79-80.
2. TT II, 179, 183. This document records the agreement between Ravano delle Carceri and the Republic of Venice , in which he agreed to send silks to the Doge in part-payment.
3. Documenti, 192, 68, 47; N. Bees, Λέων-Μανουὴλ Μαυρός, Ἐπέτειος Βέλλας, EEBS, II, 1925, 134. F. Thiriet, La Romanie Vénitienne au moyen âge; le développement et l'exploitation du domain colonial vénitien, Paris, 1959.
4. M. Ch. II, 137.
5. DAI I, 256; II, 205.

was distinctly paler. [1] Other root and vegetable dyes were used for less important materials.

The production of both cloth and dyes demanded a branch of industry devoted to dyeing. Benjamin of Tudela gives the impression, probably correct, that Jews in Central Greece monopolised this aspect of cloth production. They were to be found in all centres of weaving, Corinth, Thebes and Euripos, and in some other towns, such as Lebadia. [2] There may have been an element of discrimination in this quasi-monopoly; dyeing is not a pleasant job, and the Greeks may have forced it on the Jewish communities by restricting their entry into the weaving guilds. The exceptional skill of Jewish finishers of cloth, however, ensured their employment. [3]

Apart from textiles, the evidence for industrial production in Central Greece comes exclusively from archaeology, and is therefore limited to only two urban centres, Athens and Corinth. Of these, the latter is by far the most important for the twelfth century, and without the finds from Corinth, many industries would remain completely undocumented.

1. Kermes/chermisi (grana) made from the coccus insect, produces an inferior scarlet dye, see F. B. Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge Mass. 1936, 126, 198, 208, 215, 270. By the fifteenth century chermisi was a far more expensive dye than grana, probably because the former came from the Eastern Mediterranean and was of higher quality.
2. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10; J. Starr, op. cit. 44-9.
3. On the discriminatory practices, see The Life of Saint Nikon, NE III, 1906, 165-7; the More Iudaico imposed on Jewish craftsmen is printed in J. Starr, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, Athens, 1939, 163-4, cf. A. Sharf, op. cit. 156-7. Benjamin's evidence from Thessalonike and Constantinople confirms the importance of Jewish silk-finishers in other cities, op. cit. 11, 13. But in Constantinople dyers had to work with tanners outside the city walls.

Excavation in the medieval agora of the city has revealed three potteries, several smithies and two glass factories. [1] The products of these industries are often of high quality, comparable to objects made in Constantinople and in other far-flung centres. The glass-blowing is by no means primitive or 'provincial' in the derogatory sense. [2] It appears to have been started in the eleventh century, perhaps by Christian and Jewish refugees from Egypt. During the rule of Caliph El-Hakim, 1007-1012, active persecution of non-Muslims began to drive these people out of Muslim territory. The glass blown at Corinth resembles Egyptian types, with a considerable variety in the shape and colour of bowls, jugs, jars, bottles and circular window panes. The craftsmen were not hindered by simple furnaces. In the pottery, there is a similarly wide range of quality and variety. [3]

After the raid of 1147 industries at Corinth declined, and it appears that glass blowers may have accompanied the silk weavers to captivity in Sicily. This would provide a transmission route for the Egyptian style of glass which is found in Germany. [4] But some industrial production went on. Pottery was fired in some of the kilns until the Frankish conquest, and metalwork continued as before. Only seven years after the raid another Sicilian visitor found Corinth a big and well-populated town. [5] Although he does not comment on the industrial activity, Edrisi reserves for Corinth the epithet 'big'; other towns are 'considerable' or

1. G. Davidson, A Medieval Glass Factory at Corinth, AJA XLIV, 1940, 287-324.
2. A. H. S. Megaw, A Twelfth Century Scent-bottle from Cyprus, Journal of Glass Studies, I, 1959, 59-62; ibid. X, 1968, 88-104.
3. Corinth XI : the Pottery, by C. H. Morgan, Cambridge, Mass. 1942. A. Frantz, Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens, Hesperia, VII, 1938, 429-67.
4. G. Davidson, op. cit. 324, but cf. chapter II, page 69.
5. Edrisi, II, 123. The coin finds indicate continuing commercial activity in the agora of Corinth.

'populous' or 'small'; which suggests that it was still the chief urban centre of Central Greece.

Two further industries were recorded in the tenth century by the Emperor Constantine VII: parchment making and arms manufacture. [1] Those involved in the production of parchment shared exemption from military service with the purple fishers of Southern Greece, as the preparation of writing materials was a lengthy and necessary business. The finished parchments may have been reserved for the use of the imperial chancellery, in which case those workers in Peloponnesos would have been organised by an imperial official from the central administration. But it is impossible to establish the exact status of the parchment makers, and the continuation of their industry is a matter of conjecture. By the end of the twelfth century paper was beginning to replace the older and more expensive material, and the industry in Peloponnesos may have declined. [2]

The same can not be true of the arms industry. Despite the lull in military operations against the Bulgars after 1018, the inhabitants of Greece needed weapons . As provincial armies declined and piracy increased, they had to organise their own defence. Not every peasant proprietor would need to buy a spear and shield, but he might purchase a sword or dagger. The demand for metal weapons probably increased towards the end of the twelfth century, as private armies were built up by archontes such as Leôn Sgouros.

Each of these industries would have been run by a group of craftsmen,

1. DAI I, 256; II, 205, where chartopoioi is translated as paper-makers; De Cer. II, 656, the kritès Ellados was to supply 1,000 menaulia. It seems unlikely that paper was manufactured in Peloponnesos in the tenth century, see A.S. Blum, La route du papier, Grenoble, 1946. Only in 1035 was paper so cheap and readily available that merchants in Cairo could wrap vegetables in it, and paper was much more used in the Arab world than in the Byzantine Empire, ibid. 12.
2. N. G. Wilson and L. D. Reynolds, Scribes and Scholars, Oxford, 1968, 51. Cf. J. Irigoin, Les débuts de l'emploi du papier à Byzance, BZ XLVI, 1953, 314-9.

and those connected with imperial industries would have been closely controlled. It is difficult to be more precise about the labour force of the industrial centres, as they are so rarely mentioned. When Thebes was attacked by raiding Bulgars in the mid-eleventh century, the whole city population assisted in the successful defence. [1] Although there is no explicit mention of the proportion of craftsmen to landed gentry from the surrounding country, it would be reasonable to assume a powerful section of craftsmen. In other important cities of the Empire, the eleventh century was the period when a formation approaching the bourgeoisie of Western towns developed. [2] It was specifically Byzantine and never gained anything like the dominant position of the Venetian or Genoese bourgeoisie, but it indicated the growth of an urban industrial population which had a profound influence on the economic development of the Empire.

Centres of Export.

Information about the export trade in Central Greece is derived almost entirely from Italian trade contracts. The lack of Greek documents means that one has a one-sided picture which can not be corrected by the odd reference to commercial activity in other Greek sources. So one is very limited. But there is a structural reason for the preponderance of Italian records: by the concession of tax-free trading rights to the Italian republics, Byzantine Emperors effectively checked the development

1. Kedrènos, II, 529, 532.
2. N. Svoronos, Société et Organisation intérieure dans l'Empire Byzantin au XIe siècle: Les principaux problèmes, Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966, 380-2; cf. E. Frances, op. cit. 246.

of indigenous Greek export-traders. [1]

In Central Greece exports depended on a large surplus of agricultural produce, which could be easily transported to a major market town or a port. This sort of surplus became available only in the eleventh century, through a combination of factors influencing rural landownership. [2] At precisely the same time Venetian merchants were exploring the markets and goods available for export. The agreement concluded between Alexios Komnènos and the Republic of Venice during the Norman war stabilised the position of these merchants and encouraged others. [3] A few years later, the First Crusade and establishment of a Latin kingdom on the coast of Syria opened fresh markets in the East Mediterranean. [4] The round trip, from Italy to the East and back via Constantinople and Central Greece, became a regular and lucrative business, dominated from the beginning by the Italians. Thessalonikè, Kitros, Almyros, Corinth, Nauplion, Koron, Modon and Corfu became not only markets but also useful ports of call, where general supplies and running repairs to equipment were available. [5] When the Pisans and Genoese gained the right to trade freely, or at 4% instead of the normal 10% tax, these

1. J. Danstrup, Manuel I's coup against Genoa and Venice in the light of Byzantine Commercial Policy, Classica et Medievalia, X, 1948, 195-219; J. Herrin, The Collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the Twelfth Century: a study of a Medieval Economy, University of Birmingham Historical Journal, XII, ii, 1970, 188-203.
2. See above, page 215-6.
3. E. Frances redates this treaty to 1084, see Alexis Comnène et les privilèges octroyés à Venise, BS, XXIX, 1968, 17-23.
4. G. Luzzatto, Storia economica d'Italia. Il Medioevo, Florence, 1963, 125-8. An indication of extended commercial activity can be gained from Venetian records, see Documenti, I, nos. 15 (Tripoli, 1083); 31 (Antioch, 1104); 41 (Damietta, 1119); 45 (Acre, 1120). Sayous, Documents Inédits IV (Antioch, 1095); XIV (Antioch, 1103); XVI (Acre, 1120).
5. In 1167-8 a dozen companies were formed for trade between Constantinople, Kitros and Alexandria, Documenti, I, nos. 183, 187, 188, 189, 190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197 and 198. The journey from Venice to Dyrrachion, Corfu, Peloponnesos, Thessalonikè and back was also used, Documenti, I, no. 400.

places in Central Greece became crowded with rival merchants. How could the Greeks compete with them? [1]

One of the most celebrated of all these Western merchants was Romano Mairano, whose career illustrates this development. [2] Mairano was originally a sailor (nauclerus) who hired his services to other merchants. Between 1152-8 he began to invest small sums, up to 66 yperpera, in commercial contracts involving the transport of goods to and from Constantinople. By 1155 he employed another nauclerus to captain a boat which sailed for Lakedaimonia and other parts of Greece, and the following year he leased a house in the capital to another merchant at 9 yperpera per annum. [3] His father died in 1158 and appears to have left him some extra capital, for in the 1160s he settled in Acre to extend his network of contacts (factores) throughout the East Mediterranean He supplied iron to the Templars, wood to the Arabs and pepper and alum to the Venetians through numerous companies, which often involved large sums of money; ten contracts tied up 1,106 yperpera simultaneously. [4] Products from all parts of the Mediterranean were made available wherever there was demand. Mairano's contracts with other Venetian merchants gave him reliable information about local supply and demand, which he used very successfully. A document of 1168 reveals that the nauclerus Bartolomeo Giuliano was acting as Mairano's agent in Constantinople, while the latter was in Alexandria. [5]

1. Dölger, Regesten. nos. 1255, 1488, 1497-9.
2. G. Luzzatto, Capitale e Lavoro nel commercio veneziano dei secoli XI e XII, Studi di storia economica veneziana, Padua, 1955, 108-116; R. Heynen, Zur entstehung des Kapitalismus in Venedig, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1905, (Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien no. 71)86-120.
3. Documenti, I, nos. 104, 107, 112, 120.
4. Documenti, I, nos. 158, 261, 266, 374, 398. See note 5, page 236. above, for the companies which involved 1,106 yperpera.
5. Mairano was active in Smyrna and in the ports of North Africa, see Documenti, I, nos, 122, 284, 285, 293, 294. On his agent, Bartolomeo Giuliano, ibid. no. 207.

When relations between the Venetian community in the capital and Emperor Manuel deteriorated, Mairano was one of the representatives sent to try and restore confidence. This embassy appeared to succeed and many Venetians returned only to be surprised on March 12, 1171, by sudden arrest. Mairano was one of the few to escape from Constantinople on his own ship, which was crowded with other refugees. [1] The events of 1171 made all Western merchants wary of trading with the Byzantines. For many years their interests were turned to Arab countries, where Mairano was already a well-known figure. From 1173-90 his network of contacts expanded and he increased in wealth. [2] The cargoes carried can be illustrated from a document of 1182, which records the goods from Italy intended for sale in Constantinople. Because of the recent massacre of Westerners, this ship was redirected to Alexandria. It carried 76 miliaria of oil; and unspecified quantities of grain; olives; soap; wax; copper; almonds; silk; linen; six coats of mail and four pairs of boots. The variety of goods and large quantity of oil make it an extremely valuable cargo, probably typical of Mairano's activity. [3]

But not all Italian merchants were as successful as Mairano. Those who settled in Central Greece usually exported on a smaller scale and invested less money in their commercial contracts. They were active mainly in Corinth, Thebes and Almyros, also in Lakedaimonia, Modon and Koron in Peloponnesos. Many of their contracts do not specify what sort of merchandise is to be traded in and where, they just indicate general interest, for example "per tota Catodica et Poliponiso usque Saloniki". [4] But it seems likely that oil was the chief product, followed

1. Historia ducum venetorum, MGH Scriptores XIV, 78-9.

2. Documenti, I, nos. 293, 294; Nuovi Documenti, no. 37, which records the concession of the sugar trade in Acre to Joscelyn, uncle of Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem.
3. Documenti, I, no. 331.
4. Documenti, I, nos. 137, 209, 235, 426.

by cotton, linen and pepper, the latter obviously a re-export.[1] Silk does not feature in the trading contracts, a sure sign that its sale was controlled officially by imperial representatives.[2] Trade was not always by sea; the overland route to Dyrrachion appears to have been used by Italian merchants, probably with the help of the local population and the Vlachs.[3]

Almyros : an Italian community.

An analysis of the activity of Italian merchants in one export centre will illustrate their strengths and weaknesses in relation to Greek merchants. Almyros on the Gulf of Volos provides a suitable port. It represents the smaller, less profitable colony, not as important as those at Corinth, Thebes or Constantinople, which was clearly a unique market. Similar settlements could be found at Smyrna, Eraklion and Raidostos, as well as throughout the East Mediterranean.[4]

Almyros was a flourishing town on the coast of the Gulf of Volos at the site of the modern village of Tseggelia. A few miles inland there was another settlement of the same name, giving rise to confusions between the two Almyroi, but this analysis is concerned only with the port.[5] Edrisi observed in 1154 that it was a considerable town, populous and commercial, which was confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela a decade later. "Almyros is inhabited by Venetians, Pisans, Genoese and all the merchants

1. Ibid. nos. 67, 360; 47, 192; 68, 556; 102, 105, 368.
2. Ibid. nos. 149, 159 are the only records of silk sales; in both cases the material was purchased in Constantinople.
3. Ibid. no. 353.
4. Ibid. nos. 131, 167; Nuovi Documenti, no. 12. The Venetian settlements at Acre and Tyre were prosperous centres of commercial activity, see Documenti, I, nos. 53, 292, 126.
5. The "Duo Almeri" are mentioned in the Chrysoboullon of Alexios III and in the Partitio regni graeci, see TT I, 266, 487. But Nikètas Chôniatès knew of one Almyros, the port, see N. Ch. 808. On the identification of Almyros as Tseggelia, see D. Zakythinos, Meletai, II, 45.

who come here; it is an extensive place and contains about 400 Jews". [1] Unfortunately Benjamin does not specify the activity of the Jewish community; it may well have been weaving and dyeing. Despite the assertion of many scholars that Almyros was the see of a bishopric, this was not the case. [2] The town probably had only a small Greek population.

The Venetians were the first Western merchants established in the town. This is clear from a document of 1112, which records the presence of numerous Venetians. They witnessed a statement given by Enrico Tino, a Venetian merchant who had been shipwrecked off the coast. The Amalfitan boat and his goods had presumably gone to the seabed, and so he wanted to dissolve his contract with another merchant. This contract had been made for trade between Venice, Corinth and Constantinople. The declaration was made in the presence of Giovanni Morosini, a legate of the Doge, who happened to be in Almyros, and was taken down by his chaplain and presbyter. It is possible that the Doge's legate had also been travelling to the capital in the same ship. [3]

Apart from the mention of a Venetian 'habitator' in 1129, the next record of the community is dated 1150. At that time there was a small mercantile colony in Almyros, with its own church of Saint George and its prior, Boysono, who provided limited banking facilities. Stefano Capello da Mazzorbo, Marco Gabriel and the Betani family, Natale, Marco and Bonifacio were among the residents. [4] In 1156 Natale provided the

1. Edrisi, II, 296; Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10.
2. Almyros appears as a suffragan bishopric of Larissa in the Notitia of Leo VI, published by Parthey as Notitia 6. This is the episcopal list which is completely unreliable, see above page 223, note 2. As no other Notitia gives Almyros the status of a bishopric, this evidence should be ignored. Other important towns were not episcopal sees, for example, Lebadeia, Galaxeideion, Ôrôpos and Amphissa.
3. Documenti, I, no. 35 = Sayous, Documents Inédits, XII.
4. Ibid. nos. 54, 108, 115; Nuovi Documenti, no. 10 = TT I, 125-7.

prior of Saint George's with a house, which he had built in Almyros. [1] Marco Venero who freed one of his slaves in 1158 also lived there. Later Marco Betani moved to Thebes for business, 1163, and another Venetian, Pietro Calbani took up residence. The acts recording this activity were drawn up by the presbyters and notaries of the community, Gyrardus in 1158, Tervisanus in 1166, and witnessed by various merchants who may or may not have lived in Almyros, Michael Pladuni, Giacobo Bollo, Lucas Quirino and Giacobo Navigaioso. [2]

The port was not just used as a port of call, it was also a centre for exports, generally from Almyros to Constantinople. It appears to have been used for this trade more than the port of Thessalonikè or nearby Kitros. [3] And not only Venetian merchants used it. By 1153 there were two Pisan churches in Almyros with their rector, Ricio, and in the 1160s the Genoese also established their quarter. [4] The three groups probably had their own warehouses and quays, and kept apart from each other. Rivalry between the republics could easily develop into warfare between the individual merchants, resulting in burning, looting and even murder. The attraction of Almyros for the Italians lay in the variety of goods available for export, all the natural products of Thessaly, grain, cotton, fruits and wine. Almyros was the obvious outlet for Vlach produce, the special cheese, and embroidered woollen material so much appreciated in the capital. [5] In addition the area around Almyros was rich in different woods; ships could be fitted out and implements made by local craftsmen. [6]

1. TT I, 136-7.
2. Documenti, I, nos. 133, 166, 172.
3. Ibid. nos. 191, 212; Nuovi Documenti, no. 21. But Kitros was the port used by Mairano on his Constantinople/Alexandria route, see page 236, note 5.
4. Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10.
5. N. Bees, EEBS II, 1925, 134; M. Ch. II, 83; D. Hesseling and H. Pernot, Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire, Amsterdam 1910/Wiesbaden 1968, III, 182; IV, 75.
6. Documenti, I, no. 202; M. Ch. II, 69.

Although these exports were found all over Greece, except perhaps the Vlach goods and cotton, they were sufficiently profitable to support quite a large Italian community.

Up to 1171, trade through Almyros expanded and more merchants settled there permanently. Giovanni Serzi and his brother Marino in Constantinople had regular contact between October 1169 and March 1170, a period when 122 yperpera was sent from Almyros in six separate journeys. [1] Similarly companies based in Constantinople sent agents to collect money owing from Venetians in Almyros. [2] This practice was presumably quicker and more effective than bringing a legal claim against debtors.

Then on March 12 1171, imperial officials arrested all Venetians in the Empire and impounded their property and goods. This operation appears to have been quite successful to judge by the evidence from Lakedaimonia. [3] Events at Almyros are revealed in a claim filed in 1179 by two merchants, Pietro Michael and Domenico Barbaromano, who sailed from Almyros in the ship of nauclerus Martino Fermo. On their arrival in the capital they were seized and imprisoned. [4] The Venetians in Central Greece who could escape sailed for Italy as soon as possible, and several from Almyros appear to have avoided arrest. [5] In the course of the war between Venice and the Empire in 1171-2, they returned to burn a Genoese boat anchored at Almyros, as revenge for Genoese support of Manuel's anti-Venetian measures. [6] Of course, the other republics were the first beneficiaries of this change in imperial policy.

1. Ibid. nos. 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222, 223.
2. Ibid. nos. 212, 236, 238.
3. Ibid. nos. 316, 338.
4. Ibid. no. 313.
5. Historia Ducum Venetorum, MGH SS XIV, 79.
6. Codice diplomatico genovese, II 215.

So Central Greece was abandoned to Pisan and Genoese merchants, but even they appear to have been wary. Commercial activity was severely cut, and the few documents of 1184/5 when trade began to pick up again, mention explicitly the danger of further troubles. One contract of February 1185 will only become binding if and when a treaty between Venice and the Empire is signed. [1] Even when an uneasy peace had been restored, the Venetian community of Almyros did not return, although a few merchants continued to call at the port. [2] It was only after the Latin conquest that numerous Venetians settled in Central Greece as before. In 1206, the Doge confirmed the podesta's gift of land at Almyros to the monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore, and by 1211 new contracts were being made for trade in the town. [3]

The life of the Italian communities in Almyros was therefore limited to a fairly brief period, from about 1110 to 1171, but it was nevertheless typical of many of the smaller colonies. The families settled at Almyros were not as important commercially as those at Thebes and Corinth, though they were often inter-related. In fact, they were connected with other merchants all over the East Mediterranean and often retained close contacts with the branch in Venice, as the following analysis will show.

The Serzi brothers, already mentioned, belonged to a banking family established on the Rialto in the eleventh century. The first recorded Serzi, Andrea, left a son Domenico, whose commercial activities in Venice can be tabulated in the years 1072 to 1095. He and his wife, Petronia, had three sons, of whom the eldest, Venerando, was particularly interested in trade. [4] The next generation of Serzis, Venerando's sons, Enrico, Pietro and Domenico, were active throughout the Mediterranean in the 1150s. Enrico had contracts with Sebastiano Ziani, later Doge, a

1. Documenti, I, nos. 344, 348, 353.
2. Ibid. nos. 381, 383, 392, 417.
3. TT II, 15-7; Nuovi Documenti, no. 87.
4. Documenti, I, nos. 11, 24, 29, 27, 43, 44, 47; Sayous, Documents Inédits V, VII.

member of one of the wealthiest Venetian families.[1] Another Serzi, Nicolo, was involved in a company with a Gradenigo, another prestigious name among merchants. Marino and Giovanni, who were established in Constantinople and Almyros respectively in the 1160s, were the sons of Enrico.[2] Marino loaned money at interest to other merchants in the capital, and one suspects that Giovanni did the same in Greece. They clearly did not take an active part in commerce, as did Romano Mairano. By June 1170 Giovanni had returned to Venice, where he gave evidence in favour of the widow of one of his colleagues.[3] No member of the Serzi family remained in the Byzantine Empire after the events of 1171.

The family da Molin was another widely-spread network which included Almyros. There are at least 18 members mentioned in Venetian documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, starting with Leone, and his daughter Maria in 1057.[4] By 1130 the family was involved in trade with Constantinople and Acre, and in the 1140s Domenico and Stefano da Molin were in Corinth.[5] It was Fantino who had contacts with the Venetian community in Almyros, but another da Molin, Pietro, perhaps his brother, was clearly the most important member of the family in the twelfth century. He was based primarily in Central Greece at Corinth and Thebes, but knew of the facilities at Almyros for fitting out ships. His first activity in the capital is dated 1160; after that he formed companies with nearly all the established traders.[6] In 1171 he was arrested at Raidostos on a journey from Corinth to Constantinople and imprisoned. His companies in 1170 included one each

1. Ibid. nos. 84, 86, 102.
2. Ibid. nos. 209, 168, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222, 223.
3. Ibid. no. 225.
4. Sayous, Documents Inedits, X; Documenti, I, nos. 1, 9.
5. Ibid. nos. 40, 41, 59, 61, 94; Sayous, Documents Inedits, VII, XV, XVII.
6. Ibid. nos. 192, 151, 152, 202, 209, 235. Fantino appears to have been based in the capital, ibid. nos. 117, 243, 244; Nuovi Documenti, no. 29.

each with Marco Venero and with Frugerio Senatori, both at Thebes; one with Giovanni Falier at Corinth, and one with Pietro Venero for trade in Greece and Constantinople. These contracts presuppose quite a reserve of capital and a profitable business in oil and cotton.[1] After his release Pietro da Molin moved to Acre and Tyre (1186 and 1195); later he returned to Venice and formed a company for trade in Dyrrachion with Tommaso Viadro, one of the most famous merchants of the thirteenth century.[2] Others of the da Molin family remained in Thebes while Pietro went to the East. They were Fantino, whose daughter Mirota was married to Marino Capelessi of Almyros in Venice in 1177, and Matteo da Molin, presbyter and notary of the community at Thebes between 1176 and 1185. The two sons of Fantino, Giacomo and Filipo da Molin were active in Constantinople also in 1184.[3]

There were many families like these, the Vitale, Navigaioso, Stagnario and Venero for example, but the Venetians settled in Almyros had more modest resources and lesser ambitions. Many of them seem to have been actual ships' captains (naucleri) rather than backers, bankers and merchants. The Dongeorgio, Pladuni and Quirino families come into this category.[4] Others were individual merchants and entrepreneurs, such as Nicolo Damiano, Pietro Calbani and Marco Betani. Those who also owned land in the area obviously constituted the core of the permanent colony. Natale and Bonifacio Betani both had land in Almyros; Stefano Capello bought his property from a Greek called Pillari.[5] These two

1. Documenti, I, nos. 336, 378, 380, 396, 235.
2. Ibid. nos. 376, 425; Nuovi Documenti, no. 71.
3. Documenti, I, nos. 273, 274, 275, 353, 348; Nuovi Documenti, no. 29.
4. Documenti, I, nos. 212, 222, 65, 407; Nuovi Documenti, nos. 48, 49, 50.
5. Documenti, I, nos. 54, 166, 172. Two members of the Pillari family seem to have sold land to Venetians, Nicolo and Elias, TT I, 126, 128, 131, 136-7.

families were related to other Venetians resident in the Byzantine Empire.

The clerics of Almyros also came from families known from other parts of the Mediterranean. Domenico Marileo, Giacobo Calbo and Giovanni Rustico were all acting as presbyters and notaries in the years 1169-71; previously Rustico had been presbyter at the church of Saint Nicolas at Thebes. [1] The Venetian church at Almyros was dedicated to Saint George and served by a prior, Boysono, while there appear to have been two Pisan churches served by a rector, Ricio. [2] In all Italian communities the daily work of the catholic clergy is clearly illustrated by the drawing up of wills, witnessing of contracts, burials and marriages, but in addition they acted as bankers, providing loans for trade and a safe depositary for debts and repayments. This was true of the clerics of Almyros. [3]

Commercial activity which dominated the life of the settlement was organised in exactly the same way as at Constantinople, though on a smaller scale dictated by more modest resources. The same sort of contracts established the same companies (collegia and colleganzia) between two or more merchants, and the same form of investment and interest rates was used. [4] But while Mairano might deal in thousands of

1. Documenti, I, nos. 137, 221, 222, 238; cf. 362 (Leonardo Marileo), 232 (Warientus Calbo).
2. Ibid. nos. 108, 115.
3. Ibid. nos. 36, 51. In 1113 a subdeacon of S. Marco in Venice provided a loan of 20 pounds of denarii at 20% interest; fifteen years later, Dobramiro Dalmatino established himself as a merchant with a loan of 100 pounds of denarii at the same rate of interest from Romano, a presbyter at S. Marco. When Romano died in 1151, his will revealed that this loan had never been repaid; in addition the presbyter had a large number of commercial arrangements, see Documenti, I, no. 100.
4. On the types of contract used, see G. Luzzatto, Capitale e Lavoro nel commercio veneziano, 94-6; A. Sayous, Le rôle du capitale dans la vie locale et le commerce extérieure de Venise, Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, XIII, 1934, 665-81; R. Lopez and I. Raymond, Medieval trade in the Mediterranean World, Oxford, 1955, 157-220.

yperpera, or hundreds of pounds of Venetian denarii, companies formed in Almyros would normally involve up to one hundred yperpera. In 1161 Stefano Capello had a loan of 40 yperpera; debts of only 10 yperpera were followed up diligently, and even the Serzi brothers and Pietro da Molin invested relatively small sums in trade, 64, 55, 40, 7 and 4 yperpera.[1] The total investment of da Molin in 1171 was probably not more than 300 yperpera, quite a difference from the 1,000 put up by Domenico Sisinulo and his nephew Vitale Voltani.[2] Most of the really large companies were formed by collectives of merchants, three or more, each putting up equal amounts of capital, for example the 2,490 yperpera capital provided by Enrico Foscarini and Viviano and Giovanni Falier (830 each). Trade on that scale was impossible in Almyros.[3]

Although economic interests came first in the Italian settlements, political questions often disrupted trade. Relations between Latins and Greeks were very strained in all parts of the Empire just before 1171 and for a long time after. In fact in Almyros the community never re-established itself. Elsewhere the events of 1182 prevented a full resumption of trade, and the Westerners often moved their interests to the Levant. In addition to the changing political policy of the Empire, rivalry between the Italian republics accounted for considerable tension in the colonies. Venetian revenge on the Genoese for their support of Emperor Manuel in 1171 has already been mentioned. Rivalry and possibly fighting between Venetian and Pisan sailors in 1193 delayed the sailing of a boat from Thessalonikè.[4] Towards the end of the twelfth century the Byzantine policy of hiring one set of Italian pirates to put an end to the activity of another, encouraged general lawlessness and plunder at sea. Inhabitants of the Greek islands who could take advantage of this situation

1. Documenti, I, nos. 151, 152; 236, 238; 192, 380, 216, 221, 219.
2. Ibid. no. 308.
3. Ibid. no. 135.
4. Ibid. no. 417.

quickly joined in.[1] And the Sicilian fleet played its own part, chiefly in Cypriot waters. The Venetians had never hesitated to attack Norman ships when the occasion arose, so it is hardly surprising that the Sicilians should have responded in the same fashion.[2]

The role of Greek merchants.

What about the local Greeks? What were their relations with the Italian merchants and pirates? Unfortunately it is impossible to say. The Italian contracts reveal that very few companies were set up between Greek and Western merchants, which in itself may indicate that the Greeks could not compete. Whatever the extent of trading carried on by the indigenous inhabitants of Central Greece, it is not recorded in these documents. The first Italians who settled in Almyros probably bought houses and land from the Greeks, in the same way as Stefano Capello.[3] Until they became established as trustworthy entrepreneurs, they must have bought produce for export from local Greek merchants. In Lakedaimonia the arcontis in charge of supplies of oil sold cargoes to Venetians for export to Constantinople and Alexandria.[4] These anonymous arcontis must have been Greek archontes. But as soon as the Italians knew the workings of the market, they appear to have dispensed with Greek assistance.[5]

1. Cretan pirates were known to attack Italian merchant ships, see A. Sanguineti and G. Bertolotto, Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'Imperio bizantino, Atti della Società ligure di storia patria, XXVIII, 1896-8, 474.
2. N. Ch. 483-4; Nuovi Documenti, no. 11.
3. TT I, 125-7; 127-30, 130-3; 136-7.
4. Documenti, I, no. 65; Nuovi Documenti, no. 11.
5. Where there was no Italian cleric, however, merchants might require the services of a Greek scribe to draw up a contract, see for example, the simioma greca written by the Bishop of Modon in 1201 for three Pisans and a Venetian merchant, Documenti, I, no. 456.

So in Almyros there is no indication of the role of the Greek inhabitants. Some of them must have been craftsmen, capable of repairing and building ships. Others may have been employed in the preparation of cotton and oil for export. Some who knew the region well may have organised the transport of goods overland to the port, and from the port to other centres, especially Thessalonikè, which probably needed to draw on a large area for adequate food supplies. There is no evidence that such entrepreneurs ever rivalled the Italians, in fact it is difficult to see how the Greeks could have prevented Western predominance over the export trade. While they had to pay the full 10% tax on the circulation and sale of goods, the Westerners traded freely. In addition, Greek boats were liable to heavy port, anchorage and disembarkation fees wherever they sailed, though the Westerners were exempt. The non-existent credit facilities and high insurance rates made sea transport very expensive for the Greeks, while the Italians had developed new accounting systems precisely to cope with overseas trade. [1]

A few Greeks became merchants nonetheless. Their existence is established in Constantinople and a few of the major ports of the Empire, and in Venice. To set up a warehouse in Venice was obviously a profitable and sensible move for any Greek merchant. He could avoid the most crippling Byzantine taxes and take advantage of Venetian banking and credit facilities; he was also in the happy position of being one of the few Greeks in the West, whose services in translation and interpretation might be appreciated. Gervaso Greco was one of these Greek merchants living in Venice during the twelfth century. He had a house in the parish of Santa Maria Formosa and did all his business from the Rialto like a Venetian. [2]

1. On the heavy customs duty and shipping taxes, see Appendix I, page 276.
2. Documenti, I, nos. 106, 115.

His business was not very extensive, judged by the volume of many Italians, but he was able to provide loans for Filocaro Calbo of Almyros in the 1150s. Two other Greci, Leone and Bartolomeo, who were active in Corinth, may have worked with Gervaso. They both lived in Venice in the parish of Saint Proculo and formed companies with Pangrazio Dalmatino, the son of a Dalmatian slave freed by his owners, the rich Stagnario family. [1] The father, Dobramiro, had become a merchant with the aid of a loan from one of the presbyters of San Marco, and was active in Corinth in 1136. [2] Later in the century another Greco, Marino was named as the ship's captain for a commercial venture from Venice to Arta in Epiros. Two further Greci are known, both clerics - Giovanni, deacon at Acre in 1129, and Marco, presbyter and notary of the Venetian community of Raidostos in 1151 and afterwards plebanus at the church of San Lorenzo in Venice. [3]

Conclusion.

The absence of merchants and paucity of ship owners, ships' captains and money lenders among the indigenous Greek population of Central Greece in the twelfth century must reflect a lack of economic resources. This did not result necessarily from absolute poverty, but from a poverty of specific things - ready cash or access to loans in cash, a network of contacts throughout the Empire, well-informed about the available exports,

1. Ibid. nos. 66, 72, 80, 86; 49.
2. Ibid. no. 97; Sayous, Documents Inédits, VIII.
3. Ibid. no. 53; Nuovi Documenti, nos. 12, 47. The presence of another Greco, Filipo, is signalled in several Venetian treaties; he appeared not to have commercial interests, see TT I, 144, 171.

and an enlightened state policy on trade. Without these facilities it was extremely difficult for an individual to build up a viable mercantile concern, and conversly the markets of the Empire were open to the Italian invasion. Byzantine ship owners and merchants who supplied the chief towns were not immediately put out of their jobs, but their development into lucrative overseas trade was effectively blocked. As the Byzantine economy expanded Italian merchants monopolised the profits of exports.

The effect of this development on Central Greece is not easily established. The presence of Italian communities was a great stimulus to industrial and rural production and brought increased wealth to the centres of export. A greater demand for agricultural produce, not only for export but also to meet the daily needs of the foreigners, may have increased the difficulties of the peasant proprietor, already overburdened by arbitrary taxation. But it probably encouraged the estate-owners to maximise their crop yield. The increased activity in towns with an Italian settlement probably drew impoverished or landless peasants away from the countryside, thus contributing to the destruction of village life.

But within the urban centres Italian presence must have stimulated the growth of the guilds of weavers, dyers and finishers of cloth and of craft guilds. The evidence of the Metropolitan of Athens seems to indicate the disadvantages of a town with no foreign community. The harbour of Athens had declined and was only used by the occasional boat from Monembasia, and it was impossible to find a knife-sharpener or bellows-maker. [1] This was probably not true of Thebes or even Almyros.

1. M. Ch. Katèchèsis 8, 706; M. Ch. II, 12; 137.

In the short term Italian activity encouraged the prosperity of markets, urban centres and whole regions. But it blocked the growth of a Byzantine mercantile class. The special circumstances of the installation of Italian merchants had the contradictory effect of simultaneously developing surplus for export and draining profits from the provinces of the Empire. So despite the stimulation of new markets and the demand for increased production, the presence of Western merchants in the Byzantine Empire was not generally beneficial to indigenous traders.

4. Social Divisions : the Archontes.

The two preceding sections have shown that twelfth century Byzantine society was very divided. The main division was an economic one built on an uneven distribution of wealth, and this manifested itself in social divisions. Prosperity was reserved for the powerful while the weak were almost invariably poor. In between the extremes of poverty and riches, people of "middle" status, chiefly urban inhabitants, maintained a rather precarious existence.

In addition to these divisions among the Greek inhabitants foreign communities established in Central Greece constituted a separate section of society. It was urban and commercial, fitting into the "middle" section rather than the most wealthy, but distinct from the Greek urban population. The separateness of the Jewish communities was particularly strong, although the Byzantine Empire had a long tradition of toleration.

Social division was also encouraged and maintained by the central government. There was always a very ambiguous relationship between the provinces of the Empire and the capital. Constantinople represented to provincials the epitome of wealth, beauty, opportunity for educational, economic, political and cultural advancement. The attraction which such a large, well-built, prosperous and cosmopolitan city, aptly called the Queen city, the ruling city, or simply The City, generated in the imagination of provincial inhabitants, is impossible to assess. One suspects that a "Dick Whittington" expectation was very general; after all, in the provinces everyone knew about the free bread rations and public entertainments in Constantinople; they firmly believed that people made their fortunes in the capital, and everyone was aware of the educational facilities there. Nor were these expectations completely unfounded. Those who went to Constantinople often found employment in

the imperial administration, whether in the palace guard, the patriarchal secretariat or the offices of the city Prefect. There was great social mobility within the Empire at all times; illiterate soldiers could become Emperor, and a humble monk with no court connections might be elected Patriarch.[1] Although the well-established families, the provincial dynatoi, had easier access to important positions, it was not impossible for a totally unknown figure to attain pre-eminence. The court appears to have exercised a certain snobbery against such parvenus, but it could not prevent upward social mobility.[2] The fact that careers, especially in military spheres, were so open and flexible to men of obvious ability, stands in marked contrast to the closed and static hierarchy of court and ceremonial matters. The Byzantines very strikingly combined these contradictory forces.

Constantinople was all these things not only to provincial inhabitants but to most medieval travellers. With their experience of large and well-organised cities throughout the known world, Arab merchants and geographers who visited the city in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were still impressed. Their evidence, based on greater comparison

1. Justin, Phôkas, Leo V, Basil I and Romanos I were among those who established themselves as Emperor from very modest beginnings. For political reasons Emperors often wished to install relatively unknown characters on the Patriarchal throne, who would carry out particular imperial policies. In this way Anastasios, Tarasios, Theodôtos, Stephen I, younger brother of Leo VI, Theophylaktos, son of Romanos I and Basileios Kamatèros (1183-5) became Patriarch.
2. See C. Diehl, La société byzantine à l'époque des Comnènes, Paris 1929, 31-41.

and critical judgement than that of Westerners, confirms the "Dick Whittington" expectation of the Byzantines. [1] Latin travellers tend to stress a rather different aspect of Constantinople - its repository of Christian history, relics, shrines, sites of martydom and of the great councils of the Church. The elaborate and sophisticated architectural forms which surrounded these heirlooms or commemorated past events cannot have failed to increase the veneration. [2] Both Muslim and Christian agreed that the market facilities of the city were unsurpassed - the strategic strength of a city on the Bosphoros, observed by Constantine the Great in the fourth century, was still evident in the twelfth. [3]

Byzantine diplomacy had always recognised the importance of impressing foreigners with the superiority and unlimited resources of the Empire. But at the same time, the need to impress the population within the Empire was by no means overlooked. An elaborate mechanism of ideological control was carefully developed and imposed in every province. Obviously, this aimed to perpetuate and consolidate the powerful attraction force experienced by provincial people. It was dispensed through several imperial agencies, of which the most significant was undoubtedly the Church. But any activity which took the Emperor's representatives, civil and military, into the provinces provided an opportunity to elaborate the supreme authority of the Empire.

At the base of this ideology was the Byzantine claim to Christian sanction and Divine protection. The Emperor was the equal of the

1. J. Ebersolt, Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant, Paris 1918, 32-40; A. Vasiliev, Quelques remarques sur les voyageurs du Moyen Age a Constantinople, Melanges C. Diehl, Paris 1930, I, 293-8.
2. See for example, Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, ed. V. G. Berry, New York 1948, 62-8.
3. Edrisi, II. 298-9; 301-2; Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 13.

Apostles and under his guidance the Empire could only prosper. Reverses of any sort were explained as a form of Divine retribution on the Byzantines for their sins and failings.[1] With such an overtly religious concept of Empire, the Church was called to play a particularly important role in maintaining a cohesive imperial control. This fact was appreciated by ecclesiastics at most times and in nearly all circumstances. Before the start of any military campaign, Byzantine troops would be blessed by the Church; in fighting for the Empire they were fighting for God.[2] Throughout the Empire the connections between imperial authority and the Church were confusingly close. Even though the provincial governor might oppose the local bishop, the two were recognised as the dual representation of the Emperor in the area.[3]

The ambiguity in provincial relations with the capital arose from a contradiction between the enormous attraction which the city generated, and the actions of imperial representatives from Constantinople in the provinces. People were led to believe that the Emperor was personally concerned for the well-being of all; in this he acted as the representative of God on earth.[4] Imperial policy was highly paternalistic. But when resources failed to keep up with expenses, paternalism gave way to more obvious exploitation of the provinces. During the eleventh century

1. N. Baynes, The Byzantine State, in Byzantine Studies and other Essays, London 1955, 47-66; L. Brehier, 'Iereus kai Basileus', Mémorial L. Petit, Bucarest 1948, 41-5.
2. See H. Ahrweiler, Un discours inédit de Constantin Porphyrogénète, TM II, 1967, 393-404.
3. When the Metropolitan of Naupaktos supported the local population against the governor, the Emperor Michael IV punished him by blinding, see Kedrènos II, 530.
4. The homilies and 'katèchèseis' of Michaèl Chôniatès contain numerous references to the 'philanthrôpia' of the Emperor, see for example, M.Ch. I, 144, 171-3, 210, 237-8.

paternalistic control lapsed, and numerous revolts against excessive taxation resulted. [1] Most of them were repressed, in some cases quite savagely. Dynastic changes brought no change in imperial policy, for no Emperor was capable of checking eleventh century inflation. The sole solution to the economic crisis was increased taxation and currency debasement. [2] These economic measures intensified provincial mistrust and suspicion of the capital, and undermined imperial ideology. In Asia Minor military defeat and the Turkish invasion compounded the failure of the Empire to protect and preserve the Christian population. [3]

The cohesive power of imperial ideology had been broken on previous occasions, but the anarchic conditions which prevailed for the decade 1071 to 1081 constituted a turning-point. Although Alexios Komnènos restored the central administration and resolved the currency problems, imperial authority in the provinces was never as secure as under Basil II. The break-down of ideological control was not immediately clear, as the Church and many powerful landowners rallied to the new dynasty. But the Empire was not as firmly held together. [4]

This break-down can be illustrated by the revolts that broke out in the twelfth century - they were clearly different from previous revolts. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, the character of revolts, successful and unsuccessful, was fairly stereotyped. As control of

1. In 1040 the whole of the province of Nikopolis, except Naupaktos, went over to the Bulgars, because of the activity of the praktôr, Iôannès Kontzômytès, see Kedrènos II, 530.
2. On eleventh century problems, see P. Grierson, The debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century, BZ XLVII, 1954, 379-94; S. Vryonis, Byzantium : the social basis of decline in the eleventh century, GRB Studies, II, 1959, 159-75; M. F. Hendy, Money and Coinage in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies no. XII, 1969) 3-9, 14-25, 39-64.
3. Cf. Kekaumenos' advice, Kekaumenos, 5, 7, 61.
4. C. Neumann, La situation mondiale de l'Empire byzantin avant les Croisades, ROL X, 1903-4, 56-171.

Constantinople and an imperial coronation were the two necessities, every revolt aimed to put its candidate on the throne as soon as possible. A section of the army would proclaim its candidate Emperor and would march towards the city gathering support wherever it could. To build up a strong provincial base was not nearly as important as to gain the capital : as Kekaumenos remarked about the chances of success, the Emperor who sits in the city of Constantine is always the victor.[1] Dynastic changes ocurred by other means as well as by military revolt, but the Chronographia of Psellos lists a series of rebellions which followed the established pattern.[2]

In contrast, twelfth century revolts did not challenge imperial authority in Constantinople. They frequently ignored the measures which might legitimise their actions - the adoption of imperial clothes, the support of the Church and an imperial coronation. They were directed towards the establishment of an autonomous region within the Empire, a separatist state free from imperial control. These movements indicate how little authority the imperial ideology commanded in the provinces. Their leaders did not want to replace the reigning Emperor, they wanted to assert their own authority without further justification.

Several of the revolts were led by military men, disaffected generals such as Manuel Kammytzès, the prôtostratôr, or representatives of military families like the Mavrozômès and Komnènos. These had a tendency to adopt imperial insignia, but they were clearly not attempts

1. Kekaumenos, 64, 73, 74.
2. Psellos, Chronographia, 4-5, 6-9, 12-5, 86-7, 190-5 ; cf. Alexiade I, 17-28, 87-95.

to take over the Empire.[1] Others were led by men unrelated to established families, unknown quantities, natives of various provincial cities, who aimed to set up their own government in the surrounding region. Theodorôs Magkaphas of Philadelphia was not typical because he was very concerned with the correct procedures of an Emperor. He established control over the city and Lydian countryside, forcing the local population to call him Emperor. He took the unusual and highly ambitious step of minting silver coins with his own effigy, As minting was an imperial prerogative, this indicated a serious challenge to Constantinople, but it probably only involved the re-striking of a limited number of coins for immediate circulation. Theodôros made no attempt to extend his authority beyond a fairly small area, which he defended, albeit unsuccessfully, against Theodôros Laskaris.[2]

In Central Greece several separatist movements broke out towards the end of the twelfth century, led by both military and unknown characters. There was a fragmentation of authorities in the province, which allowed hardly any real power for the representatives of the Emperor in Constantinople, and which resulted in anarchy. Although the Metropolitan of Athens fought to maintain his own legally-constituted power, the

1. On Manuel Kammytzès, see N. Ch. 502, 533, 678-9, 707-9; his seal is published by N. Bees, in JIAN XIII, 1911, 1-2. On Manuel Maurozômès, see N. Ch. 827-8; 842. On Michaèl Komnènos, who set himself up as an independent ruler in the Maiandros valley before Maurozômès, ibid. 700-1; cf. Angold, op. cit. 289. On Isaac Komnènos and his Cypriot principality, ibid. 376-9; 443-4; 483-4, 547. Two other members of this family, Alexios and David, established the most lasting independent state, based on Trebizond, see A. Vasiliev, Spec. XI, 1936, 3-37.
2. N. Ch. 521-3.

cohesive ideology of the Empire was totally ineffective.[1]

Of the separatist leaders, Manuel Kammytzès, previously protostrator, was the most "professional". He came from a military family closely related to the Komnènoi, and his revolt was connected to the Bulgars' struggle for independence, which was finally successful.[2] In this respect, Kammytzès' revolt was least typical of the movements in Central Greece. But as one of the archontes, he represented a characteristic position. Chalkoutzès of Euboia. Kônstantinos Maliasènos of Demetrias and Michaèl, the illegitimate son of Iôannès Aggelos Komnènos sebastokratôr, who established himself in Epeiros, were similarly well connected.[3]

Leôn Sgouros, Leôn Chamaretos, Doxopatrès, the anonymous Boiôtarchontai and many unidentified 'Romaioi archontes' represent the other type of leader, the local man who seized the opportunity to establish himself in his own home-town.[4] The activity of Sgouros and the Boiôtarchontai started in the 1190s, whereas the others appear to have taken advantage of the general disorder following news of the capture of Constantinople. In addition to these particular leaders, it is clear that in many cities the archontes had established their independence from any other authority. Those in Monembasia are identified as the Mamônas,

1. Ibid. 800-3.
2. See N. Banescu, Un problème d'histoire médiévale. Création et caractère du second empire bulgare, Bucarest 1943, 79-93. R. L. Wolff, The 'Second Bulgarian Empire'. Its Origin and History to 1204, Spec. XXIV, 1949, 167-206.
3. On Chalkoutzès, see M. Ch. II, 277, 278, 279-80; on Kônstantinos Maliasènos, MM V, 345-9; Polemis, op. cit. no. 121, 142-3; on Michaèl, see Polemis, op. cit. no. 45, 91-2.
4. N. Ch. 841-2; Chronicle of Morea, lines 1632, 1744, 1800 (anonymous archontes) line 1763 (Doxopatrès); M. Ch. I, 315.

Sophianos and Daimonogiannès families; those in Thebes are anonymous.[1] The kastrènoi of Athens were undoubtedly archontes, and the strong community at Euripos probably had its own similar leaders.[2] Not all these cities took an active part in separatist movements; Thebes, for example, was drawn into Sgouros' principality by force; but in each one there was an independent authority.

It is difficult to assess the exact position of individual leaders in late twelfth century society, as the Byzantine and Western sources refer to them simply as archontes. They were not always important landowners in the region; members of the Xèros, Branas or Kantakouzènos families must have controlled more land in Peloponnesos, but it was Leôn Chamaretos, a native of Lakedaimonia who established his control around the city. Nor were they military or civil administrators. The last recorded military commander in Peloponnesos was Iôannès Maurozômès, who in 1185 took his troops north to Thessalonikè. Whatever happened to them subsequently, they appear to have taken no part in Sgouros' movement.[3]

They were not dynatoi, nor well-connected, but they appear to have needed the support of ceremonial titles. Apeing the manners of grand families, making judicious alliances, they reveal all the insecurities of a parvenu authority.[4] At the same time they were unable to command

1. Chronicle of Morea, lines 2945-6 (Monembasia), 2066 (Lakedaimonia); Henri de Valenciennes, op. cit. para. 672.
2. M. Ch. I, 311; Henri de Valenciennes, op. cit. para. 683.
3. Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica, 88.
4. Sgouros made a suitable match when he married Eudokia, the daughter of deposed Alexios III, see N. Ch. 804. He also adopted grand titles, which had possibly been endowed by the ex-Emperor on this occasion, see his seal published by S. Lampros, Ai Athènai peri ta telè tou dôdekatou aiônos, Athens 1878, 99. Leôn Chamaretos, however, with no official authority styled himself "proedros Lakedaimonias", see K. Kônstantopoulos, JIAN VII, 1904, nos. 697-8, 293.

the support of local people. Their methods of warfare brought them closer to the bands of pirates who infested the Aegean, than to a "liberation army". In this respect they probably suffered from the same problems as official tax collectors with their regularly diminishing returns. The need for money, food supplies, arms and able-bodied men generated a campaign of violence, which terrorised the local population. [1] The Metropolitan of Athens mentions a specific instance which illustrated Sgouros' failure to win over the inhabitants of Central Greece. During a raid or perhaps during the siege of Athens, Sgouros kidnapped Michaèl's young nephew, the son of Geôrgios Chôniatès, and held him as a hostage at Acrocorinth. For a clumsy action at table, Sgouros killed him with a wooden club. [2]

These ill-judged activities undermined the success of separatist movements. Popular support was essential to maintain the break with imperial ideology, but most leaders were either unaware of its importance or unable to generate it. Their arrogance and cruelty revealed other contradictory forces in provincial society. Despite the hatred of governmental tax collectors, inspectors and officials from Constantinople, the rural inhabitants also resented the power of local dynatoi. If the latter tried to usurp state authority and started levying taxes, there was further protest. Any form of administration which resorted to the same forceful and arbitrary methods was unacceptable.

Another cause of resentment against the archontes who initiated separatist movements was the fact that their authority was based in the cities. This was inevitable. Urban centres had developed during the twelfth century to the point at which they attracted rural people to

1. N. Ch. 803, illustrates Sgouros' activities.
2. M. Ch. II, 68, 139, 141, 162-75.

leave the countryside. Cities were seen as a threat to the prosperity of the countryside. [1] The fact that landlords tended to live not in rural settlements but in the cities aggravated the tension between town and country. The growth of trade and industry encouraged the development of artisans, craftsmen and a wealthy "middle" section of urban population.

Each of the archontes had established control in his own urban centre first, later extending his authority over the surrounding land. To plan the creation of a separate principality, it was necessary to control a castle or defensible citadel and source of supplies. Having captured this centre, Lakedaimonia, Argos or Thebes, the archon could draw further support from the rural areas. Sgouros may have owned land in the Argolis, but he appears to have built up his army from the cities. One of the reasons for his precipitate retreat from Thermopylai when Boniface of Montferrat advanced from the north, was allegedly the differences of opinion among his troops, and their desire to return home to their cities. [2]

It was natural that the more advanced economic centres should have provided soldiers for Sgouros' army. Cities like Thebes had developed self-protective measures, and Athens kept its walls in good repair. [3] In contrast with this fighting ability, the rural population was

1. Ibid. II, 99-100.
2. N. Ch. 805. Not all archontes followed this pattern, but not all were as ambitious as Sgouros. Chalkoutzès, for example, does not appear to have had a city-base, see M. Ch. II, 277, 278, 279-80.
3. Twelfth century repairs to the walls of the Acropolis have been associated with Michaèl's preparations for the siege threatened by Sgouros, see A. W. Parsons, Klepsydra in Medieval and Modern times, Hesperia, XII, 1943, 251. But other Metropolitans are known to have looked after the defences of Athens, see G. Sôteriou, Ta ereipia tou para ton Areion Pagon Byzantinou naou, Archaiologikon Deltion, II, 1916, 139-42 (an inscription recording the construction of a tower by Metropolitan Leôn, who died in 1069).

defenceless and an open target for attack, whether by state officials, local pirates, archontes or invading forces. They probably sought shelter in the nearest monastery or walled town if they could, but they must have resented equally the failure of military protection and the superior strength of urban centres. [1]

The separatist movements which broke out at the end of the twelfth century cannot be closely defined, but they reveal some of the structure of provincial society. Inhabitants of Central Greece were united in their suspicion and hatred of bureaucrats from the capital. They were, however, strongly divided within the province, between town and rural dwellers, because urban centres were expanding and growing in prosperity at the expense of the countryside. This economic advantage, coupled with political and strategic assets, made the cities an obvious base for any rival movement. Unknown archontes were able to make use of these urban facilities, including an artisan population. The old-style provincial leaders, dynatoi, were being replaced by upstarts, who had no connections with well-established families, or with provincial administration. This development effectively broke down the cohesive ideology of the Byzantine Empire. Subsequently, even after the restoration of an Emperor at Constantinople, the provinces of the Empire would be much less closely connected with the capital.

1. Eustathios, De capta Thessalonica, 66-8.

Ecclesiastical sees in Ellas and Peloponnesos in the Twelfth Century.

Ellas : Metropolitans :- Athens, no. 28; Larissa, no. 34; Thebes, no. 57; Neai Patrai, no. 58.[1]

Metropolitans without suffragan bishoprics :- Aigina; Naxos; Euripos, (modern Chalkis).

Under the Metropolitan of Athens, eleven suffragan bishops :-

Diauleia, known from Ierokles and surviving to this day as Daulia.

Koroneia, another ancient site, now called Agios Georgios.

Andros.

Skyros.

Syra and Seriphos, two small islands south of Keos.

Keos and Thermion, both islands.

Megara.[2]

The four Euboian bishops :-

Oreos, now called Oreoi.[3]

Porthmos, which is now called Palaia Chôra or ὁ Κάραβος τοῦ Ἀλιβερίου; Aliverion is a small village on the west coast.

Avlona, now Avlonari near the east coast.

Karystos.

Under the Metropolitan of Larissa, sixteen :-

Pharsala.

Demetrias, modern Volos.

Thaumakos, an ancient site which survives as Domoko.[4]

Zetouni, the medieval name of Lamia.[5]

Ezeros.[6]

Loidorikion.

Trikkis, now Trikkala.

Echinos, now Achinos.

Kolydros, unknown.

Stagoi, identified as Kalabaka.[7]

Besaina.[8]

Kapoulianon, unknown.

Gardikion.[9]

Lestinos.[10]

Charmenon, unknown.

Peristera.[11]

Under the Metropolitan of Thebes, five suffragan bishops :-[12]
Kanalon.[13]
Zaratovon, a village on Helikon.[14]
Kastorion, identified as Kastri near Delphi.
Trichion unknown.
Platanon, ancient Platea, modern Plataiai.
Under the Metropolitan of Neai Patrai, three :-
Marmaritzanoi.[15]
Bela.[16]
Agia, unknown.[17]
Peloponnesos :[18]
Metropolitans :- Corinth, no. 27; Patras, no. 32.
Metropolitans without suffragan bishoprics :-
Argos, no. 88; Christianoupolis, no. 78;[19]
Lakedaimonia, no. 80.[20]
Under the Metropolitan of Corinth, six suffragan bishops :-
Damala, ancient Troizen.
Monembasia.
Kephalonia.
Zakynthos.
Zemaina.[21]
Maina, in the Mani. The exact identification of this site is still problematic.[22]
Under the Metropolitan of Patras, five :-
Korone (ancient Asine). In the medieval period Korone was moved to a site further north.
Methone, Modon.
Elos.[23]
Olena, also Bolaina.[24]
Amyklaion, ancient Tegea; Frankish Nikli, near modern Tripolis.

No identification is necessary for those sites which are still known by their classical names. Other modern names for twelfth century sites are quoted from the Synekdèmos of Ieroklès, edited by E. Honigmann (Brussels 1939).

(1) "Novae Patrae respondent Aenianuum metropoli, nomine Hypata, ad radices Oetae montis, prope ad fluvium Spercheum(Helladam) superiorem", TT I, 363. 'Υπατή' is the modern name.

(2) The Athenian ms. Cod. 1371, φ 390 v. (partly published by Gelzer, Notitia no. 5) gives Megara as a suffragan bishop of Athens. This is confirmed by Pope Innocent III's letter, see PL 215, col. 1560.

(3) Ôreos, an important site in N. Euboia now called Ôreoi, see Lampros, NE I, 1904, 32-6.

(4) Thaumakos is not recorded in Ieroklès, but it is an ancient foundation now called Domoko, see D.M. Nicol, Meteora, London 1963, 46.

(5) The classical site of Lamia was known as Zetouni in the medieval period, Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 10 passed through "Sinon Potamo" or "Zeitun" in the 1160s.

(6) An anonymous letter written in about 975 mentions the town of Ezeros, where some rebels made a last stand against the strategos, see J. Darrouzès, Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle, Paris 1960, IX, no. 9. The region is not identified, but there are several reasons for placing this unrecorded revolt in Southern Thessaly.
a). the see of Ezeros is first mentioned in 879,
(so Darrouzes, ibid. note 14, should be ignored).
b). it is identified as a site on the northern coast of the Sperchios estuary.
c). the mention of a Rentakios in the same letter suggests an area in Central Greece, where this family was well-established, cf. chapter IV, page 201-2.

(7) Stagoi is identified by C. Astruc, see Un document inédit de 1163 sur l'évêché thessalien de Stagoi, BCH LXXXIII, 1959, 206-46.

(8) Psellos mentions the see of Besaina in a letter to Nikèphoritzès, praitôr of Ellas and Peloponnesos in the second half of the eleventh century, see Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè, V, 344-6, no. 103. The site is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, op. cit. 11; it was near the port from which he embarked for Thessalonikè, which suggests that it should be placed somewhere on the east coast of Thessaly. A. Carile has identified it with ἡ Δέβιανη , about 30 km. east of Larissa, see Studi Veneziani, VII , 1965, 283.

(9) Benjamin, op. cit. 10, found Gardiki a ruined place with few inhabitants, but later in the twelfth century Michaèl Chôniatès was writing to Epiphanios, Bishop of Gardikion and Peristera, M. Ch. II, 69. The two sees appear to have been united, providing additional resources to the Bishop. Neither site is identified but Benjamin's itinerary records that Gardiki was two days' journey from Zeitun and two days' from Armiro, ibid. This is confirmed by F. Pouqueville, Voyage dans la Grèce, Paris 1820, III, 72, who found Gardiki "on the road from Almyra to Zeitun, 7 hours far", There is no modern site in this position which corresponds to medieval Gardiki.

(10) Lestinos is probably modern Βελεστῖνον , the site of the ancient city of Φέραι.

(11) Cf. note (9).

(12) These bishoprics are recorded only in the Codex. Athen. 1371, partly published by Gelzer as Notitia no. 5. He admits the greatest difficulty in identifying these names with any known medieval sites.

(13) A Notitia dating from the fifteenth century places Kanalôn, now united with Avlona, under the Metropolitan see of Euripos (Euboia). But this does not help to identify the site.

(14) Gelzer quotes W. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, London 1835, II, 106, 527, who recorded a village named Tzara/Zara near the western peak of Helikon. But this is not a certain identification.

(15) G. Schlumberger published the seal of Ypatios, "basilikos strator kai tourmarches MARM.....", which he found in the Athens collection, see Sigillographie, 171. He identified the town as Marmaritzanoi in Thessaly, known from this episcopal list. But this is only a hypothesis and does not indicate the position of the site.

(16) There are many sites of this name. Bees distinguishes ἡ Βελλά in Epeiros from ἡ Βελά in Phokis, which is this suffragan bishopric, and from the site in Peloponnesos, Βελλὰ καὶ χωρίον τῶν Καλαβρύτων , see EEBS II, 1925, 122, note 1 . But he can not identify this site.

(17) Agia is another common place-name. The site of this bishopric has not been identified.

(18) On these sites see Bon, Le Péloppnnèse byzantin, 103-113, and Appendice III.

(19) The remains of a large, well-built middle byzantine church at Christianou in Messenia support the identification of Christianoupolis with this site, see Bon, op. cit. 112, 142.

(20) Lakedaimonia, ancient Sparta, is recorded in Ieroklès. The town was moved to Mistra, on the slopes of the Taygetos range by the Franks, who built a castle commanding the plain of Sparta.

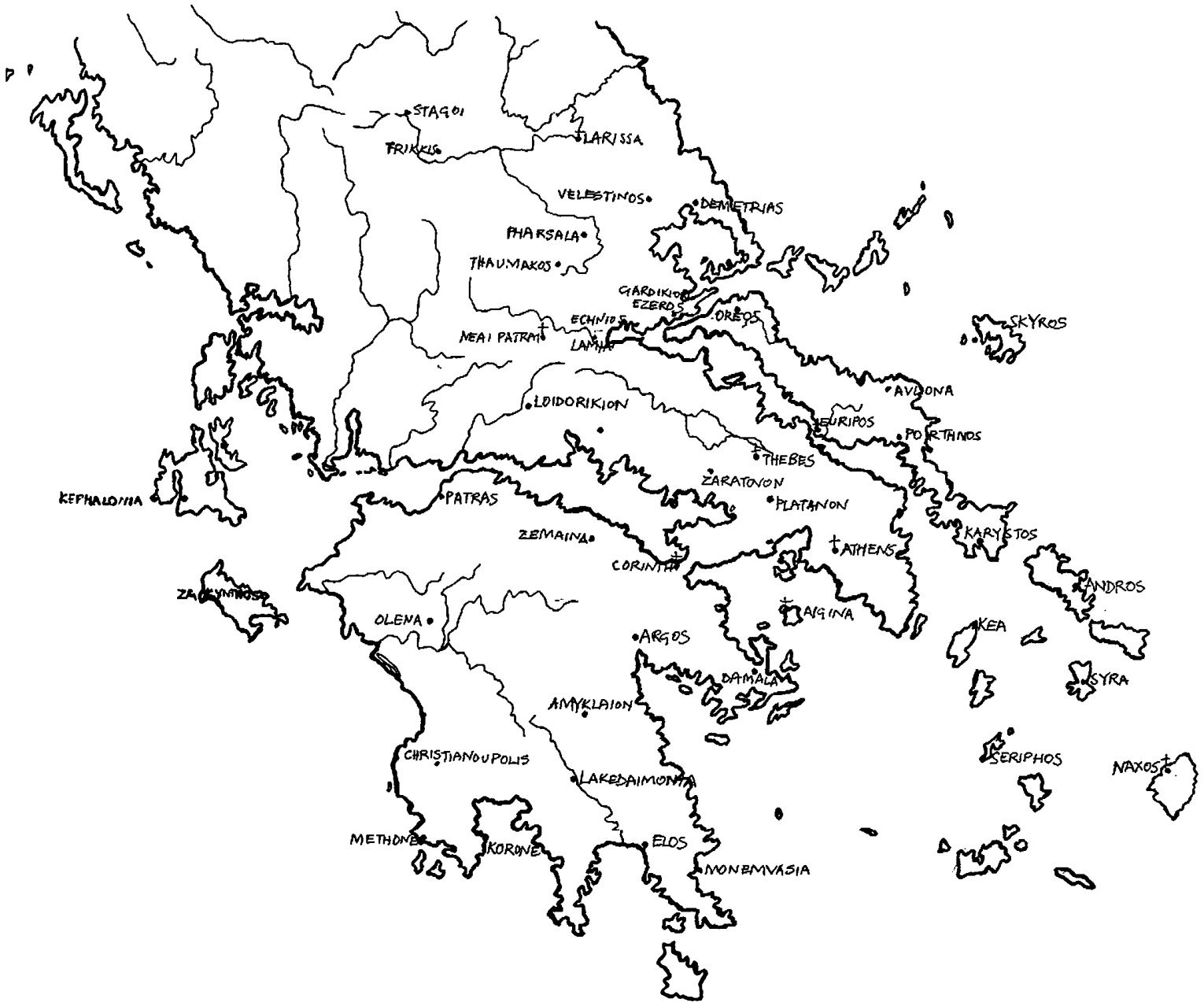
(21) This site no longer exists. It was somewhere in the mountains to the West of Corinth and the ancient site of Sikyon, (inland from modern Xylokastron), see Bon, op. cit. 107.

(22) Bon offers no identification for the episcopal site of Maina. Recently E. Kriesis has proposed medieval Kelefà as site of the Grand Magne, a Frankish castle, (near modern Areopolis), see BZ LVI, 1963, 308-16. But it is not certain that the bishopric, which antedated the castle by centuries, was situated in the same area.

(23) Elos, an ancient site on the Lakonian Gulf, between modern Skala and Molaoi, has no modern equivalent.

(24) Olena no longer exists, but the site was to the north of Olympia, perhaps in the area of the modern village of Karatoulon. There has been some confusion over the identification, because in the thirteenth century the see was moved to Andrabida, the Frankish capital of Elis, see Bon, op. cit. 107, note 3.

Ecclesiastical sees in the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos



CONCLUSION

This study has a limited aim : to document as fully as possible all aspects of provincial life in a fairly small area, from Thessaly to the Isthmus of Corinth. The evidence for this area of Central Greece is specific to the region and is not found in other parts of the Empire. Even within Central Greece regional differences occur, caused by a large transhumant popul ation in the mountainous North-West, which contrasts strongly with the rural and urban settlements further south. There is little uniformity in social structure and economic organisation, but certain patterns emerge from the preceding examination of the sources.

1. It is clear that the province of Ellas and Peloponnesos stood in a particular relationship to the capital, Constantinople. The central administration had adopted a policy of draining the provinces of wealth, both in natural resources and in taxes.

2. At the same time provincial administration was declining. Constantinople was losing its control over the everyday government of provincial regions, and alternative forms of government were emerging.

3. But provincial society was divided against itself; the population of Central Greece could not unite behind one leader in order to oppose the arbitrary administration imposed by the capital. It was divided socially by the existence of a highly privileged section of wealthy landowners, and by the attempts of archontes to usurp governmental authority. And economically the differences between urban prosperity and rural poverty were very divisive.

4. The provincial economy was characterised by three factors, which made it unstable. Firstly, it was constantly weakened by excessive

taxation. This fell most heavily on the peasantry, freeholders, tenant farmers, craftsmen and people engaged in local trade, who were often reduced to poverty and driven out of business. Secondly, the development of large estates, frequently controlled by monasteries and institutions, demanded a larger labour-force and improved methods of marketing and distributing produce. Although this development was essentially healthy for the provincial economy, it created an imbalance. It increased the size of a landless, dependent peasantry, and with this additional labour-force it increased agricultural production. But it failed to institute machinery to distribute this produce efficiently. Thirdly, in this situation Italian trading communities established in nearly every port and market town in Central Greece could take advantage of weaknesses in the provincial economy. With their international contacts, navigational skills, credit facilities and mercantile experience they could arrange for the export of surplus agricultural produce and the redistribution of goods within the Empire.

During the twelfth century these patterns gradually become identifiable. They reflect a process which will help to resolve the basic problems of Byzantine social and economic history, which are to define the social formation of the Empire, and to explain how and why it collapsed in 1204. The evidence from Greece is especially interesting because the province was strategically placed between Constantinople and the West. In the market centres of Ellas and Peloponnesos there was a very marked contrast between the commercial, expansionist, colonialist and adventurist Italian elements and the Byzantine. It would be rash to draw general conclusions about Byzantine society from this specific evidence. The fresh material presented in this study, however, will be available for further investigations

of twelfth century economic and social developments. Through this sort of necessarily limited research it will be possible to identify and to define more closely aspects of this process of decline, and to analyse the characteristics of Byzantine society.

APPENDIX I.

A Note on Twelfth Century Byzantine Taxes.

The economic crisis of the twelfth century was produced by a series of interconnected factors, military, political, economic and fiscal. The decline and disappearance of provincial troop contingents coupled with Manuel I's adventurous foreign policy, increased the number of mercenary troops and Italian ships on the payroll of the Byzantine treasury. In addition, twelfth century cavalry men were more expensive to equip than pre-Crusading armies. Gradually, as resources dwindled, Emperors were forced to give up armies and pay off the enemy with tribute, a humiliating and often ruinous practice. [1]

All the Italian Republics were bound by the terms of their trading contracts to provide naval assistance for the Empire when requested, but diplomatic relations could not determine the military value of this assistance. Towards the end of the century the interest of each Republic was evidently in scoring off the others and increasing its own power in the Empire, rather than in sustaining the non-existent Byzantine fleet. For their services of dubious worth the Italians obtained the right to trade freely in most parts of the Empire - a right which deprived the Byzantine treasury of all customs' duties and merchant shipping taxes, the most lucrative indirect taxation. When financial officials tried to rectify this situation,

1. The Alamanikon tribute money, to be paid to the German Emperor, Henry VI, was to have been raised by an extraordinary tax on the countryside, but the money was never sent as Henry suddenly died, September 1197, The announcement of the tax caused such opposition in the provinces that Alexios tried first to raise money in Constantinople, see N. Ch. 631.

they had to resort to increased direct taxation and successive debasement of the coinage.

These measures might have been successful had all landowners and proprietors paid direct taxes. But many had obtained exemption from the most severe of these taxes. So these sections of Byzantine society which could have supported taxes on land and property, monastic communities especially, contributed little or nothing to the treasury, and the unprivileged and unprotected were chased even more closely by tax farmers. Distribution of taxes was increasingly weighted against the rural peasantry. [1]

In order to combat the chronic shortage of money, a plethora of new taxes and officials was introduced into a tax system already highly complicated. There were five chief bureau (sekreta) at Constantinople, devoted to financial, general, foreign, military and naval affairs. The sakellè and genikon, financial and general respectively, were responsible for the main taxes, but all the others had their own financial officials and tried to become independent of each other. [2] The scope for confusion and quarrel can be illustrated by the procedure for making effective an imperial order or decision; each sekreton had to register the act in its own department, informing its own employees of the changes to be observed. [3] Until this was done, the order had no validity and could be ignored. Michaèl Chôniatès reported such a situation, which caused increased and prolonged

1. The distribution of taxes in each province was fixed by a katastichon, which had to be changed every time another landowner or institution gained exemption from a certain tax. It is clear that officials could alter katasticha in favour of peasant proprietors, or against their interest, M. Ch. II, 54.
2. Bury, Klètorologion, 137. In addition to these five, the sekreta of the eidikon, and of the euagoi oikoi, dealt specifically with the wealth of the Emperor.
3. The process of registration is recorded on many documents. After the final signatures, the officials of each sekreta responsible sign and date the act; for example in June and July, 1196, the sekreta of the sakellarios, megalos logariastès and thalassès registered a new exemption for Lavra, Actes de Lavra, no. 67, p. 354.

hardship in his diocese. [1]

On his accession in 1081 Alexios Komnènos adapted the administration to strengthen control over military and financial matters. He revived the post of logothetès tôn sekretôn, general co-ordinator of the work of the bureaucracy, and created a new one, that of megas logariastès. [2] This official was given overall responsibility for the economic aspects of each sekreton and gradually took over the stratiôtikon bureau. The other change in the central administration concerned the naval bureau, which was re-organised under the parathalassitès, who took over the management of merchant shipping. [3]

Indirect taxation was of two kinds: that levied on merchandise imported into and exported from the Empire - the 10% customs duty (kommerkion), and that levied on the circulation and sale of goods within the Empire, diabatikon and dekateia. Both had been controlled by officials called kommerkiarioi to the eleventh century. During the twelfth, other administrators appear to have shared their duties. The office of kommerkiar -ios continued to exist, but archontes and perhaps praktores were also responsible for the collection. [4] Even Italian merchants who had a definite exemption from the kommerkion were sometimes forced by over-zealous tax-collectors to pay this tax. [5]

1. M. Ch. II, 54. A new orismos made by the governor, Prosouch, would have made the katastichon effective, but this orismos had not been registered.
2. H. Ahrweiler, La Mer, 200-4, Ahrweiler argues convincingly that the logothetes ton sekreton, recorded for the first time in an act of 1081, was not a new position but the post of mesazôn, created by Constantine IX for Leichoudès. The post of megas logariastès occurs for the first time in an act of 1094, see Zepos, Jus GR, I, 650.
3. MM VI, 138, the megas logariastès, Iôannès Belissariôtès, also had responsibility for the stratiôtikon. See also H. Ahrweiler, Fonctionnaires et Bureaux maritimes, REB XIX, 1961, 263-52.
4. See page 22 note 1
5. Sanguineti and Bertolotto, op. cit. 399-401.

The main revenue from indirect taxation probably came from internal transport and sale of goods, not only the 10% levied on the value of the goods but also from shipping taxes.[1] All boats used for commercial purposes were taxed according to their tonnage. All activities associated with mercantile shipping were individually taxed - use of harbour, anchoring, loading and unloading of goods - and in addition port authorities had the right to impose extra taxation for their own benefit. These taxes were called either after the officials involved, for example limeniatikon or archontikion, or after the customary presents provided for tax officials of all sorts, kaniskia.[2] An assortment of these shipping taxes is listed in the 1084 Chrysoboullon which granted exemption to Venetian merchants: "xilocami, limenatici, poriatici, caniskii, exafolleos, archontichii et aliorum tributorum causa eorum que debent negociari".[3] This indicates the problems of trading for merchants who had no exemption.

All goods transported round the Empire were subject to a 10% ad valorem tax, dekateia tôn agôgimôn in general, or more specifically, dekateia ton oinon (wine) and so on for every product.[4] Despite the very full exemption accorded to the monastery of S. John the Theologian on Patmos by Alexios Komnènos, the monks were unable to escape the dekateia tax until 1186, when Isaac II granted a special exemption from that.[5] The most important of the monasteries enjoyed full immunity but unless they were particularly covered for each tax, officials from Constantinople

1. On shipping taxes, see military section above, page 105-6.
2. The limeniatikon was levied by limeniarioi, port officials, see Actes de Lavra, nos. 55, 67; the archontikion is recorded in no. 55, and the kaniskion due to the parathalassitès, in no. 67.
3. TT I, 53. Cf. ibid. 272-3 (Chrysoboullon of 1198).
4. Actes de Lavra nos. 67, 68; MM VI, 138, in addition to the wine dekateia, a dekateia tou linokokkou is mentioned, a tax on red dye, kokkos.
5. MM VI, 119-21; N. Svoronos, Note Additionale, Travaux et Mémoires, I, 1965, 384-5.

would enforce payment. Legal exemptions were also ignored when the individual bureaucrat was in a position to terrorise the monks. [1]

Direct taxation increased throughout the twelfth century in the hope of raising additional revenue to meet rising expenses. In addition to the basic taxes on land and property, (synônè, kapnikon, zeugarion and aer), which were assessed according to the wealth of each proprietor, everyone made a contribution towards the upkeep of public services, castles, windmills, roads and bridges, and for military defence. [2] During the process of fiscalisation which took place in the eleventh century, many of these services were incorporated into the system of strateiai and were paid in cash. This process transformed the sekreton tou stratiôtikou from a military to a purely financial department in the sekreton of the megaslogariastès. By the end of the twelfth century the regions which came under the naval department were forced to pay for the building and equipping of ships in money, katergoktisia and exôplisis plôimôn, and the same tendency occurred in every section of the bureaucracy. [3] Despite the difficulty of collecting taxes from transhumant shepherds, even this area of agricultural life was more severely taxed. Ownership of any four-legged animal, and sometimes even of birds, made a peasant liable for the appropriate tax. [4]

The upkeep of public services, aggareia or paraggareia, was a general corvee imposed on the whole population in the area and fixed by the central

1. The prâktôr of Samos, Pègonitès, was notoriously aggressive towards the monks of Patmos, disregarding their imperial chrysoboullon of exemption from state taxes. Eventually the monks requested that a special clause be added to prevent the praktôr's activities, MM VI, 111-3.
2. Information about taxes on land and property comes chiefly from the exemption formulae, which list the complete range of taxation payable. This does not mean that all the different taxes were imposed simultaneously; the very large number of taxes and officials indicates that there was a tax for every situation, to fit every condition. An example of the variety is provided by the chrysoboullon for Patmos, MM VI, 44-9.
3. See above, military section, page 106-8.
4. On transhumant taxation see G. Rouillard, Le dîme des bergers valaques sous Alexis Comnène, Mélanges N. Iorga, Paris, 1933, 779-86; on the taxes on sheep, dogs and birds, see Actes de Lavra, no. 48.

administration. It included the aggareia tôn ypozygiôn, the duty to provide transport for the governor when he visited the province, which could give rise to serious abuses. Michaèl Chôniatès reports that on one occasion at least people were not allowed to claim their draught animals without payment; the requisition became another tax as well as a service. [1]

It was this aspect of taxation which aroused the greatest protest among inhabitants of the Byzantine provinces. As the governor was not paid a salary, he had the right to levy extraordinary taxes to cover his expenses, These taxes, epèreiai, provided officials with the easy profits they hoped to make while in office. There was no limit to the sort of commodity they could commandeer, consume or tax - the chrysoboulla granting full exemption generally state epèreiai pasai, but it is clear from other sources that there was a great variety of epèreiai. [2] All officials had to be fed and lodged while they were in the province. This became a heavy duty whenever the governor and his company moved out of the official residence to make a tour of inspection. Ypodochatores would be sent in advance to prepare the ypodochè of the company, which would certainly include meat and wine. [3] Visits of this kind were so much feared that cities, estates and monastic institutions often requested an Emperor to grant them immunity

1. M. Ch. I, 310; II, 107.
2. Epèreiai are often called kakôseis. A particular one is the sawing of wood recorded in Actes de Lavra, no. 48.
3. M. Ch. I, 309; II, 106; MM VI, 47, equates ypodochè with kathisma; Mesaiônikè Bibliothèkè, V, 261, where ypodochè is associated with diatribè and diatrophè, (quarter and rations). The practical problems of providing ypodochè are illustrated by a sèmeiôma of Iôannès Apokaukos, concerning Geôrgios Chôniatès, nephew of the Metropolitan of Athens. Geôrgios held the position of prôtobestiaritès and was therefore entitled to ypodochè from the peasants in Thessaly. They were the par_oikoi of a certain pronoiarios, who was instructed by the Metropolitan of Naupaktos to put pressure on the peasants, see Tessarakontaeteris tou K. S. Kontou, Athens, 1909, 379.

from this particular imposition. Athens, although benefiting from such an immunity, still suffered a visit from the governor, who pretended that he wished to worship at the Parthenon. The resulting devastation, loss of supplies and flocks and draught animals, indicates the helplessness of provincial inhabitants in the twelfth century. [1]

As well as food supplies, it was traditional to present an imperial official with a gift of respect when he toured a provincial area. These kaniskia, antikaniskia, proskynètikia and meiligmata were originally baskets of food, but in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries they may have become a money tax. [2] The original purpose of the gift was brushed aside as governors realised that here was another source of extra income. There is no doubt that towards the end of the century central control over provincial officials failed to prevent extortion. The brief attempt of Andronikos I to salary governors and to check unnecessary hardship was unsuccessful; too many vested interests stood in the way of improvement.

The method of calculating and paying taxes did nothing to counteract this development. The land tax being the most basic was calculated at a rate of so many modia of a certain sort of land, arable, vineyard, pasture to the nomisma. The rate might vary from one area to another. Usually it was fixed by an imperial orismos, and was known as epibolè. [3] Once the epibolè was fixed officials could calculate from the provincial cadasters the total tax due from each province, akrostichon. [4] This sum represented

1. M. Ch. I, 309; II, 107.
2. See above page 218 note 1.
3. N. Svoronos, L'épibolè à l'époque des Comnènes, Travaux et Mémoires, III, 1968, 375-95.
4. M. Ch. I, 310; II, 107; the total sum and the way it was distributed through the katastichon were two closely related subjects.

the revenue for the Treasury, a sum which declined as exemptions from taxes increased. In addition, certain payments were made out of the akrostichon before it left the province. In Ellas, 422 nomismata would be set aside for the monastery of Osios Meletios; in Strymon and Crete similar annual payments were made to the Mother of God and S. John the Theologian (Patmos) monasteries respectively. [1] The tendency for such institutions to protect themselves against any increase in taxation, meant that the akrostichon got smaller and smaller. Even to keep it regularly to the same level meant constantly increasing the epibole of the region. And this was not an effective way to raise taxation. Michaèl Chôniatès mentions the fact that the orion of Thebes was assessed at a different rate from the orion of Athens, where the number of modia to the nomismata was fewer than in the richer area to the north, that is the rate of epibole was higher. This may be attributed to the ability of the Thebans to resist an increase in epibolè. [2]

The basic taxes should have been paid in gold, but there is no evidence in the twelfth century that this was so. Supplies of coinage in Central Greece were provided by the mint of Thessalonikè, which had a continuous record of gold minting; and by a mint in Central Greece, probably at Thebes or Corinth, which struck only bronze coins, particularly the half-tetarteron. [3] Evidence for the wide-spread use of these small coins is clear from both Corinth and Athens. They are found in profusion at the excavations, and they also occur frequently in coin hoards put down at times of crisis during the twelfth century. The Venetian raids of 1125 and 1171-2, and Norman activities in 1146-7 and 1185 provided the occasion

1. Life of Osios Meletios, 49; MM VI, 117-9.

2. M. Ch. II, 66.
3. D. M. Metcalf, Coinage in the Balkans 820-1355, Thessaloniki, 1965, 82-3, 88, 97-8, 117-9. M. F. Hendy, Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies no. XII, 1969) 93-4, 97-8, 99-100.

for burying coin collections. [1] Very few gold coins appear to have circulated in Central Greece; they were not used in every day transactions but were reserved for special purposes. After the major reform instituted by Alexios Komnènos in about 1092, all gold coins were weighed and measured against the new trachea nomismata, and most twelfth century issues were not of the same standard. [2] So old gold was hoarded particularly. Italian merchants and Crusaders quickly appreciated the differences between a gold coin of Alexios I and one of Manuel which contained a higher proportion of silver. [3] The inhabitants of Central Greece who engaged in any form of trade must have been aware of these distinctions, but the ordinary tax payer may not. Although the ship tax was fixed at so many nomismata, by the apographè of the logothetès, Iôannès Doukas, it was probably paid in a mixture of coins. [4]

The limited resources of a peasant family of the twelfth century suggest that despite fiscalisation and adequate provision of coinage, many taxes were still paid in produce. Some taxes were not paid at all; the officials responsible for their collection simply took what they could. Occasionally taxation would be remitted and all debts abolished, a sure sign that provincial people were in arrears, but nothing was done to prevent the same situation arising subsequently. [5] Although they lived in

1. D.M. Metcalf, The Brauron Hoard and the Petty Currency of Central Greece, 1143-1204, Numismatic Chronicle, Seventh series, IV, 1964, 251-9; idem. Coinage in the Balkans, 88, 93.
2. M.F. Hendy, op. cit. 29-31; 34-7; 39-64.
3. Odo of Deuil, op. cit. 40, 66; M.F. Hendy, op. cit. 21.
4. M. Ch. I, 308. The akrostichon of the island of Aigina was also calculated in vomismata, though it may not have been paid in gold., ibid. II, 75.
5. Ibid. II, 54.

a monetary economy, they appear to have had little recourse to coinage except petty currency.[1] This was in part due to the breakdown of the circular movement of gold from the central Treasury to the provinces and back. In the twelfth century the injection of nomismata into the provincial economy was much more limited than previously when all thema troops had been paid in gold. The pay of mercenaries and the commercial activity of Italians did not compensate for this in a period of ever-increasing taxation. The inflexibility of economic machinery at Constantinople contributed considerably to the poverty of Byzantine provinces in the twelfth century.

1. D.M. Metcalf, op. cit. 92.

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